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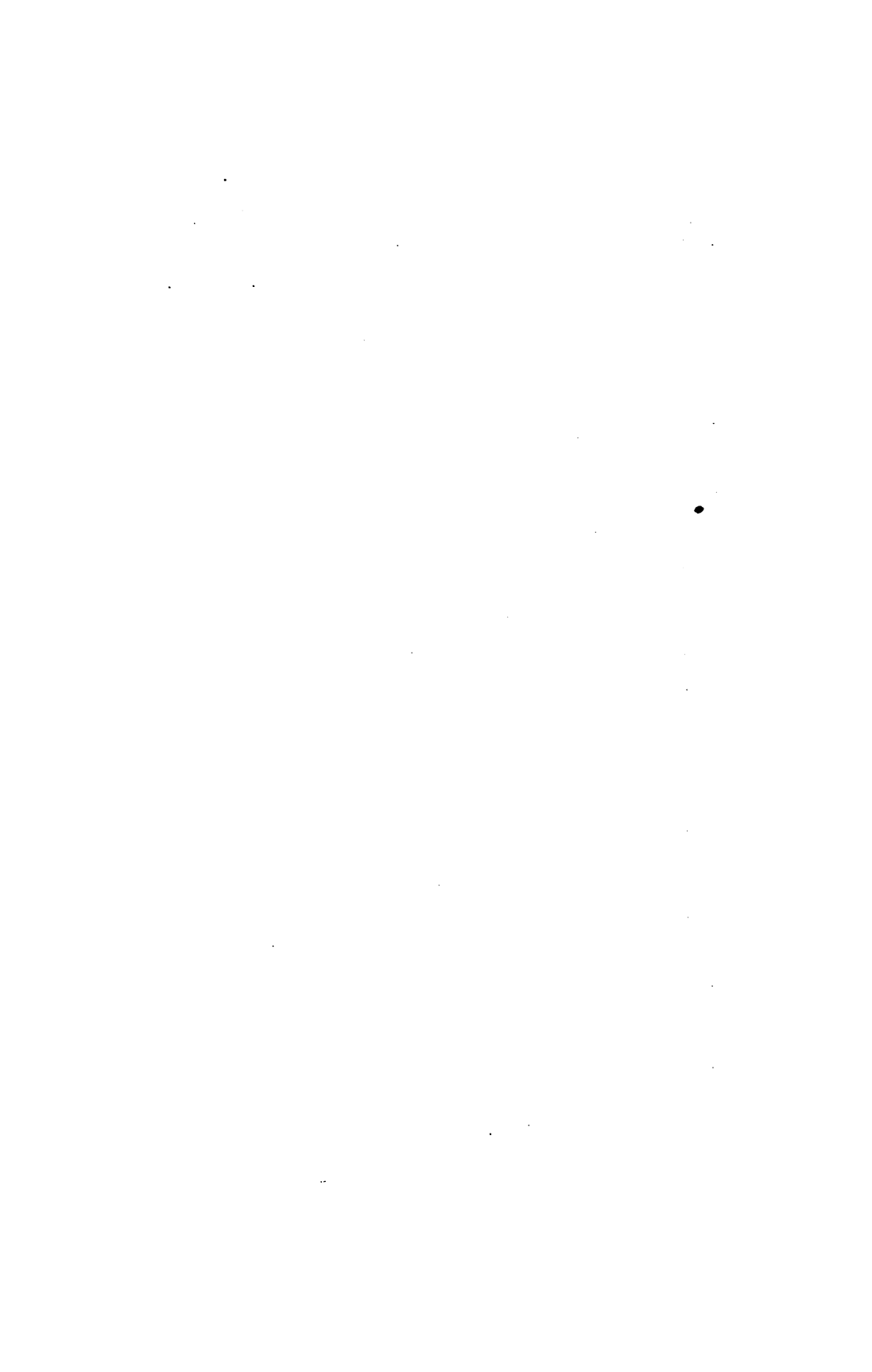
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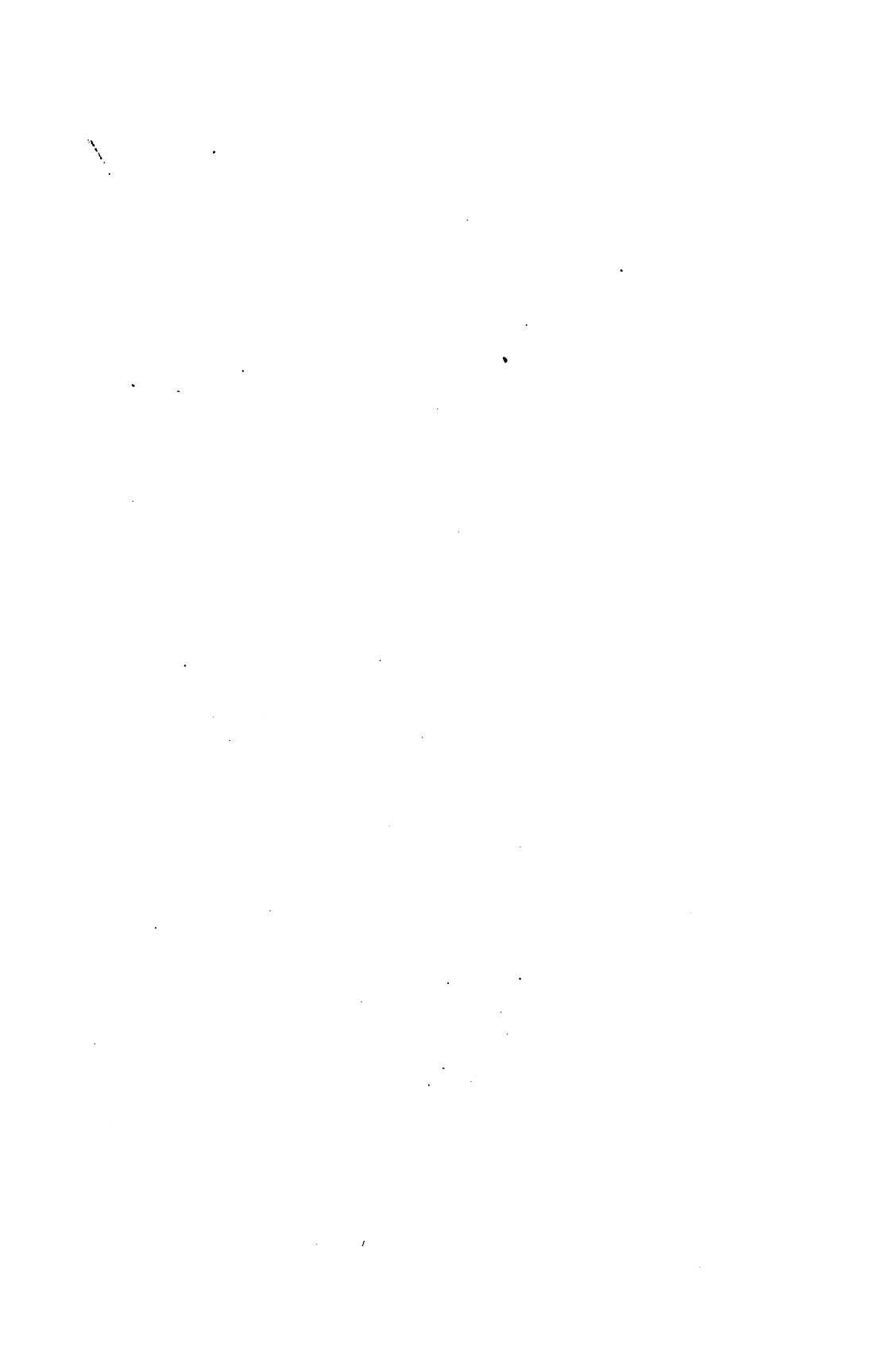


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Classical

THE
CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

VOLUME THE FIRST.



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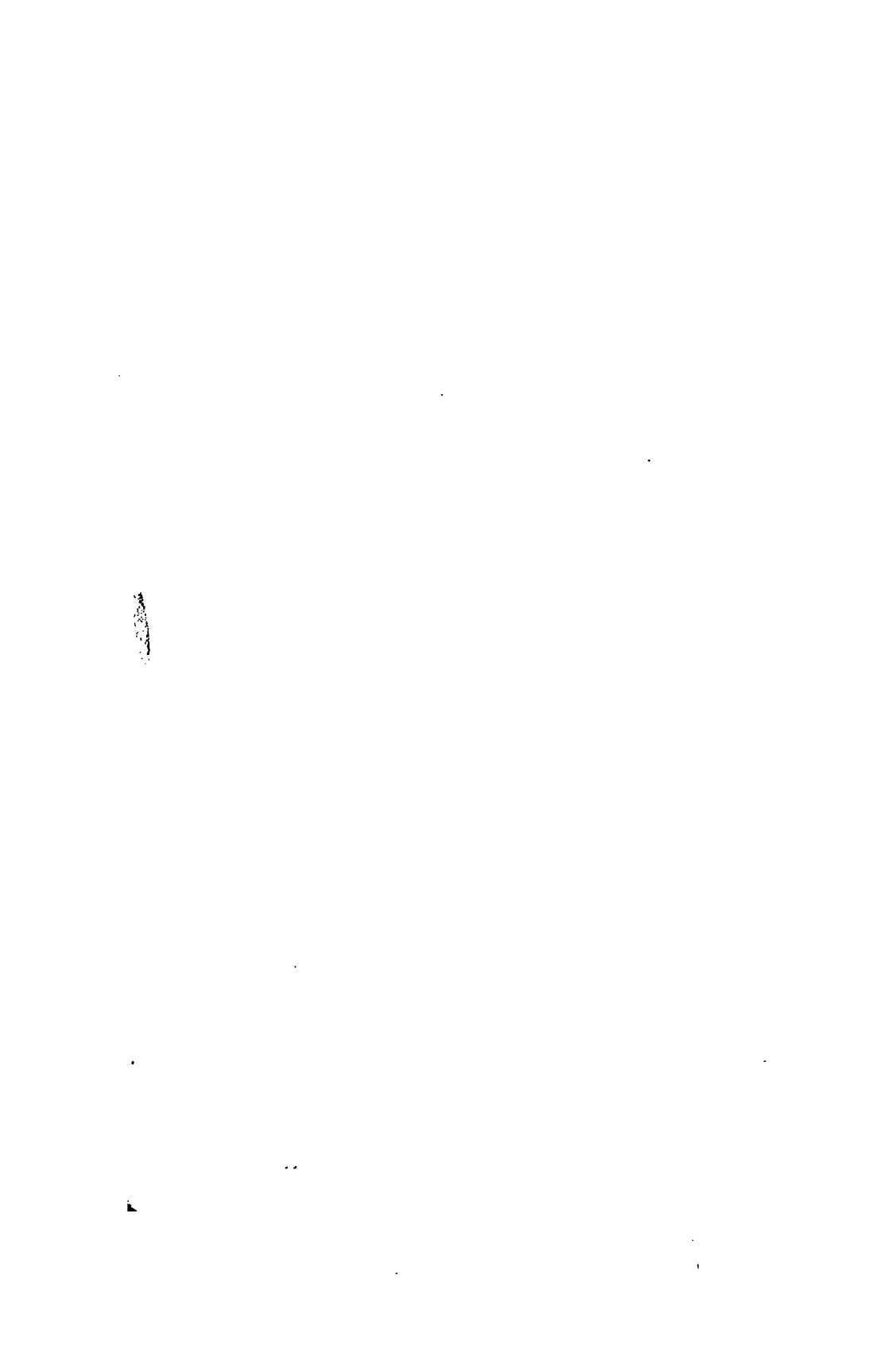
A JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, AND OF
ANCIENT HISTORY AND
LITERATURE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.



LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLIV.



P R E F A C E.

For some years past it has been the cause of much regret among our own scholars, as well as among those of foreign countries, that there has existed no organ for the discussion and illustration of the knowledge of antiquity. Latterly our scholars have had no public means of communicating with one another, or of becoming acquainted with one another's labours. The great Reviews, for obvious reasons, seldom notice works relating to classical antiquity; and the consequence has been that works of acknowledged merit in this department of literature have rarely received that share of public attention which they deserve, and have sometimes remained unknown to the great body of classical students. The same has been the case, but to a much greater extent, with the productions of continental scholars. Foreign countries have had still fewer opportunities of learning how classical studies were faring with us, and a pretty general belief has arisen on the continent that classical studies here were decaying or nearly extinct. Now although it cannot be denied, that at a recent period of our literary history there was a falling off in classical studies, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, in the production of standard works, yet it is at the same time an indisputable fact, that within the last twelve or fifteen years the study of classical antiquity has been reviving among us, and that its importance in education and in the cultivation of the mind and of taste in general, has been more universally recognised.

Several attempts have been made within the last few years to fill up the existing deficiency in our periodical literature, and to establish a journal devoted to classical antiquity, but various difficulties have from time to time prevented the plan from being carried into effect. These difficulties are now overcome, and owing to the generous support which has been afforded by many distinguished scholars, the first volume of the *CLASSICAL MUSEUM*, containing Parts I. to III. is now presented to the public. It is hoped, that the scholars of this country will continue to lend their assistance in supporting a journal, the want of which must be felt by all who take an interest in classical pursuits.

Owing to the first part of the *CLASSICAL MUSEUM* not appearing until the first of June, Volume I. for 1843, consists of only three parts; but as it is hoped in future to publish one part regularly every quarter, each of the subsequent volumes will consist of four parts.

The subjects which the *CLASSICAL MUSEUM* will embrace are: the Languages, History, Geography, Religion, Literature, Political and Social Institutions, Laws, Arts and Sciences of the ancients; and nothing will be excluded which throws light on any point of antiquity. Papers upon the early history and literature of our own country, and discussions upon Oriental literature, as far as it has any bearing upon or connexion with classical antiquity, will likewise occasionally be inserted in the pages of this Journal. Biblical criticism and all subjects of a religious or theological nature will be excluded.

As to the forms in which these subjects are treated in the *CLASSICAL MUSEUM*, we may classify them as follows,—

1. Original Essays, and occasionally translations of the best Essays of foreign scholars, or condensed abstracts of voluminous and expensive works of importance.
2. Reviews.
3. Miscellaneous information on subjects of antiquity.

4. Short critical notices of works connected with classical studies which appear in this country, and of the best foreign works of the same kind.

5. Intelligence. Under this head it is proposed to give all the information respecting the Universities and other Literary Institutions in this and other countries, which may be deemed important or interesting to the classical student.

L. SCHMITZ.

LONDON,
December 1843.

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METROLOGISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER GEWICHTE,
MÜNZFÜSSE, UND MASSE DES ALTERTHUMS IN IHREM
ZUSAMMENHANGE, VON AUGUST. BOECKH.

BERLIN, 1838. 1 Vol. 8vo.

(*INVESTIGATIONS ON ANCIENT WEIGHTS, COINS, AND
MEASURES.*)

M. BOECKH has so long been celebrated in the philological world for profound erudition—for method, as well as ingenuity, in the combination of scattered facts, and for the quality, somewhat rare among eminent scholars, of sobriety in the field of conjecture—that no preface is necessary when I proceed to offer a few remarks upon one of his recent and most elaborate productions.

The *Metrologie* is a work not unworthy of its distinguished author. The dispersed fragments of evidence, respecting the weights, measures, and monetary systems of the ancient world—one of the most perplexing subjects in the whole range of philology,—are patiently collected, and perspicuously discussed: and the thirty chapters, of which the book consists, are so closely packed with matter, as to forbid the possibility of any condensed abstract of the entire contents. The views of M. Boeckh are, in several respects, original, differing even from opinions stated by himself in former publications: he has, moreover, imparted to the subject a new interest, by considering the metrological systems of the various countries in antiquity in continual com-

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parison with each other, so as to elicit valuable proofs of early communion and transition of ideas between them. His book embraces the weights and measures prevalent throughout all the countries known to us in the ancient world. Babylon, Syria, Phenicia, Judæa, Egypt, Sicily, Italy, and Rome: and the comparative metrology of these nations is presented to us in a way analogous to the *Vergleichende Grammatik* of Bopp, in regard to the extensive family of the Indo-Germanic languages; it exhibits the diffusion of institutions, originating in the very ancient civilization of Babylon, to the neighbouring countries whose period of settled ordinances and commerce was more recent.

Though this transition must have taken place anterior to recorded history, and, therefore, in a manner which we cannot now fathom, yet the reality of the fact is sufficiently proved by its lasting and ascertained results. In cases where the weights and measures of two different nations are found to be in a precise and definite ratio one to the other,—either exactly equal, or exact multiples and parts of each other,—we may fairly presume, either that the one has borrowed from the other, or that each has borrowed from some common source, (*Metrol.* c. ii. § 3.) Where the ratio is inaccurate, or simply approximative, it is to be treated as accidental and undesigned.

I request particular attention to this distinction between a precise ratio, and a ratio merely approximative, which M. Boeckh lays down very clearly, and which he justly announces as the cardinal principle of his metrological reasonings. To a great extent, he has succeeded in exhibiting an analogy, both interesting and hitherto unknown, between the metrical and statical systems of the various countries to which his work relates. But I must at the same time add, that there are several of his conclusions which appear to me very imperfectly supported, and some even which are not to be reconciled with the evidence. In a subject so obscure and perplexed from beginning to end, this is by no means wonderful.

In investigating the subject of the ancient weights and measures, in so far as they afford evidence of communion or analogous proceeding between the different nations of antiquity, the great point to be attended to is the normal system as it was

fixed by law, abstracting from those imperfections which attended the execution of it in detail. All mechanical processes in antiquity were carried on far more loosely and inaccurately than they are at present: pieces of money, as well as weights and measures, were both less durable and less exact, in spite of the solicitude of the ancient governments. We know by the evidence of inscriptions, with respect to Athens, that normal weights and measures were preserved under custody of a public officer in the chapel of the Hero Stephanephorus; that copies of these were made and distributed for private use; and that strict watch was directed to be kept for the purpose of excluding fraudulent or incorrect weights and measures in the shops and the market¹. The case was similar at Rome, and seemingly also at Jerusalem (*Metrol.* c. ii. § 3). In this manner the theoretical perfection of the standard was maintained in the minds of the people as it was when originally adopted, in spite of imperfect execution in practice.

M. Boeckh enters upon his subject, in the third chapter of the work, by an investigation of the Roman liquid measure, quadrantal or amphora, in its relation to the Roman pound weight. According to the Silian plebiscite, as reported by Festus, the legal definition of a quadrantal was, a vessel containing 80 pounds weight of wine or water: the congius being one-eighth part of it, and containing 10 pounds weight of the same. By this regulation the dimensions of the vessels containing liquids were made dependent, not upon cubical measurement, but upon weight, like the imperial gallon in England. Now the Attic liquid measure called *χοῦς*, was the exact equivalent of the Roman congius; and the Attic *μετρήτης*, the largest unity of liquid measures at Athens, contained 12 *χόες*, and was equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ amphoræ, or quadrantalia. Such a definite ratio does undoubtedly indicate either some common original from which both systems must have been deduced, or an imitation of one of them by the other. M. Boeckh seeks to deduce both one and the other from the East, where it will be presently shewn that the Chaldæans at Babylon had adopted in very early times

¹ Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript. Græcar.* No. 123—150.

a system of determining their cubic measures by ultimate reference to a given weight.

“If,” (he says, iii. 4, p. 26) “we regard this relation of the weights and measures, based upon a given weight of water, which is the keystone of the Roman system—and if we carry the application of this water-weight backwards to the chief measures of the ancient world—we shall find a connection really and truly organic between the systems of the different people of antiquity, and we shall arrive at last at the fundamental unity of weight and measure in the Babylonian system; so that this supposition is found to be verified in all its consequences and details. To give some preliminary intimation of this—I shall shew that the Grecian (or, more accurately, the *Æginæan*) and the Roman pound are in the ratio of 10 : 9: the *Æginæan* pound is half the *Æginæan* mina: but the cubical measures stood normally in the ratio of the weights; and therefore the Grecian cubic foot was to the Roman as 10 : 9—and as the Roman cubic foot weighs 80 pounds of rain-water, so also the Grecian cubic foot weighs 80 Grecian or *Æginæan* pounds, equal to 40 *Æginæan* minæ. The unity of weight (in Greece) however is, not 40 minæ, but 60 minæ, or a talent. In the original institutions of the people of antiquity every thing has its reason, and we find scarcely any thing purely arbitrary: nevertheless, this unity of weight, the talent, does not coincide with the unity of measure—neither with the cubic foot, nor with any other specific cubical denomination. But the coincidence reveals itself at once, as soon as we discover that the Babylonian cubic foot, standing as it does in the ratio of 3 : 2 to the German cubic foot, weighs 60 *Æginæan* minæ (= 60 Babylonian minæ = 1 Babylonian talent) of rain-water.”

M. Boeckh here promises more than his volume will be found to realise. He does, indeed, satisfactorily shew that the Babylonian talent was identical with, and was the original prototype of, the *Æginæan* talent, and that the standard and scale of *weight* was strikingly and curiously similar in Asia, in Egypt, and in Greece. But he has not, I think, made out the like with regard to the Grecian *measures*, either of length or of capacity, and his proof of the ratio of 3 : 2 between the Babylonian and the Grecian foot will be found altogether defective. Nor

has he produced adequate evidence to demonstrate, either the ratio of 10 : 9 between the Grecian or Æginæan pound and the Roman pound—or that of 1 : 2 between the Æginæan pound and the Æginæan mina—the ratio between the Grecian cubic foot and the Roman cubic foot, too, as also that between the Grecian cubic foot and any given Grecian weight, is, as he proposes it, inadmissible. In fact, there is no such thing (properly speaking) as an Æginæan pound weight: nor is there any fixed normal relation between Grecian weight and Grecian measures, either of length or of capacity,—though there is a fixed normal relation between Babylonian weight and Babylonian measures, as also between Roman weight and Roman measures.

The Greek scale of weight consisted of the talent, the mina, the drachma, and the obolus: the talent consisting of 60 minæ—the mina of 100 drachmæ—the drachma of 6 obols. The scale of weight in Sicily and Italy was essentially and originally different, having for its unit the pound—always divided into twelve ounces, except in central Italy, north of the Apennines, where it contained only ten ounces. These denominations were universal throughout Sicily and Italy, though the pound, in one part of Italy and another, was not the same absolute weight, any more than the talent in Greece. M. Boeckh, as well as all other writers on the subject, recognises this radical distinction between the Hellenic population on the one hand, and the earliest inhabitants, both of Italy and Sicily, on the other, in respect, both to the denomination and divisions, of the statical and monetary scale. And I may here remark, that the supposition of identity of Pelasgian race between the original population of Epirus, and that of the south-eastern regions of Italy, announced with confidence by Niebuhr, and adopted by K. O. Müller, becomes open to doubt from our finding no mention of pound weight or ounce weights among the Epirots. The Corinthian colonies on the coast of Epirus—Leukas, Anaktorium, and Ambrakia, as well as the island of Korkyra—pursued a system of coinage purely Hellenic, consisting of talents, minæ, and drachmæ. But the Corinthian colony of Syrakuse, as well as every other Hellenic establishment, either in Sicily or Italy, adopted a mixed system, in which talents, minæ, and drachmæ, were blended together with pounds and ounces—not according to

any one uniform principle, but varying from town to town both in Italy and Sicily. The statical denominations prevalent among the Italian and Sicilian Greeks, arising as they do out of a compound of two systems originally distinct, present questions full of perplexity, and such as can hardly be solved with our existing stock of information.

The words talent, drachma, and obolus, are genuine Greek, and of Grecian origin: the first of the three even occurs in Homer, though in a sense quite different from that which it subsequently bore in Greece—denoting, seemingly, a definite, but small, weight². But the systematic graduation of weights in Greece seems of a date later than the Odyssey; and the word mna, or mina, which forms the central point of the scale, has no root in the Greek language. It is of Chaldaic origin, and has also been discovered by Champollion among the ancient hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, (*Metrol.* iv. 2. p. 39). The etymology of this word points to the quarter from whence the Greeks received their scale of weight: and it will be found that there is sufficient analogy between the scales adopted in Greece, Judæa, Phenicia, and Egypt, to warrant a belief that all of them were derived from one common origin—the Chaldaic priesthood at Babylon. We are told by Herodotus, that the Greeks adopted from the Babylonians the sun-dial,

² Aristotle had said (*Schol. Ven. ad Iliad*, xxiii. 269), that the talent in Homer was a weight altogether undefined. M. Boeckh agrees with him, (*Metrol.* iv. 1, p. 33). But surely this opinion cannot be reconciled with the assertion that "Odysseus weighed out ten talents of gold," (*Iliad*, xix. 247. *Χρυσὸν δὲ στήσας Ὀδυσσεὺς δέκα πάντα τάλαντα*): or even with the specification of a definite number of talents of gold—ten talents, two talents, &c. (*Odys.* iv. 526, and other passages cited in Damm's Lexicon). The word *τάλαντον* originally means a *scale*, as is well known, and is often so used by Homer.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as well as in the Hesiodic Works and Days, reference occurs to the chief measures of length and of area: *ὄργυια*, *πῆχυς*, *πούς*, *σπιθαμὴ*, *δῶρον*, *πλέθρον*, *γύη*: but no

precise or definite measure of capacity is noticed in them—*μέτρον* and *ἀμφορεὺς* are of unknown bulk. But the scale of dry measure is at least as old as the Hesiodic poem, called *The Catalogue of Women*, as we may ascertain by the occurrence of the word *μέδιμνος*, which only belongs to the language as a technical denomination of measure. See the story of *Mopsus and Kalchas*, *Hesiod ap. Strab.* xiv. p. 921. *Fragm.* ed. Gaisf. xiv.

Μύριοι εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν ἀτὰρ μέτρον γε μέδιμνος.

The word *μέδιμνος* seems to belong to the same family as *μέτρον*, *metior*, which is said to be traceable to a Sanskrit root. (Curtius, *De Nominum Græcorum Formatione, Linguarum Cognatarum Ratione habitâ*, p. 48. Berlin, 1842).

the *gnomon*, and the division of the day into twelve hours: and M. Boeckh, in one of the most learned sections of the *Metrologie* (iv. 4) has traced the diffusion of the worship of Mylitta, or Aphrodité Urania, original in Assyria, through the intermediation of the Phenicians, to Greece, Asia Minor, and Sicily.

In the fifth chapter of his work, M. Boeckh investigates the value of the Babylonian talent-weight as compared with the Grecian. Herodotus, in his enumeration of the tribute-money paid by the various regions subject to the kings of Persia, states that the greater number of them were directed to pay in silver, a given number of Babylonian talents; while the Indians were required to pay in gold, a certain number of Euboic talents: and he then adds that the Babylonian talent was equivalent to 70 Euboic minæ (Herod. iii. 89). The total sums however, as Herodotus states them, do not precisely coincide with the items of his estimate: but there is a confusion either in the calculations of the historian, or in the text, which cannot be rectified by the aid of our present MSS., and we are only enabled to see that the estimate of 70 Euboic minæ is lower than the real value of the Babylonian talent.

Two other statements are found, of the value of the latter: Pollux gives it at 70 Attic talents, Ælian at 72 Attic talents. That the number 72 is more exact than 70, is a reasonable presumption: but if we attach to Attic talents the value of the Attic money talent as established by Solon, the three statements of Herodotus, Pollux, and Ælian, will become absolutely irreconcilable: for the Euboic talent was a weight decidedly and considerably larger than the Solonian Attic talent. But the three statements come into complete harmony when we interpret the Attic talents, as stated by Pollux and Ælian, to mean "great Attic talents," as they are called by Dardanus the ancient Metrologue—that is, Attic talents as they stood before the reduction of Solon. It is ascertained not merely by the evidence of Dardanus, but by the still more incontrovertible testimony of a published Athenian inscription, that the "great Athenian talent and mina" continued in exclusive use at Athens, *as weights*, for several centuries after Solon—that the debasement introduced by that legislator applied only to the coins, drachmæ, obols and their

multiples, together with the mina and talent considered as pecuniary denominations apart from actual weight. The Attic mina and talent underwent, by the enactment of Solon, a change similar to that of the English pound during successive centuries. Our pound originally contained a full pound weight of standard silver, and its signification both as money and as weight was identical; but in process of time the standard was lowered, and its pecuniary meaning was greatly changed, while its meaning as weight remained unaltered. We know by the evidence of the inscription above alluded to, that the mina as weight—the *commercial mina*, as it was formally denominated—was required to weigh 138 Solonian standard drachmæ: and it will be shewn presently that its exact weight had originally been $138\frac{2}{3}$ of such drachmæ.

Construed in this very rational and admissible sense, the three accounts of Herodotus, Pollux, and Ælian, respecting the value of the Babylonian talent will be found concurrent. It is divided according to the common scale—viz. 60 minæ, and 6000 drachmæ of its own: and it is equivalent to 72 Euboic minæ each weighing $138\frac{2}{3}$ Solonian standard drachmæ. In other words, it is equivalent to 10,000 of these Solonian drachmæ,—the precise value of the Æginæan talent, according to the express announcement of Pollux, being in the proportion of 5 : 3 to the Solonian standard. Calculating by this proportion, the standard weight of a Babylonian or Æginæan drachma (the 6000th part of a Babylonian or Æginæan talent) ought to be 112.295 English grains Troy. We are hardly entitled to expect any remaining actual coins to be of full standard weight, since almost every state in antiquity coined below its own standard, even when the standard continued legally unchanged; and we must allow besides for loss arising from wear and tear. But it is remarkable that the Persian silver darics, now in the British Museum, adjusted as they doubtless were to the Babylonian scale by which the silver tribute was measured, do exhibit a weight of 224 English grains Troy, or a little above—nearly the exact weight which they ought to have as Babylonian or Æginæan didrachms.

In the sixth chapter of his work, M. Boeckh enters into an elaborate examination of the Hebraic, Phenician, and Syrian, system of weight and money: and he establishes on probable

grounds, that the scale followed in these countries even from very early times, agreed with and was borrowed from the Babylonian. The Hebraic talent had 60 minæ, and 3000 holy shekels or didrachms: of the latter, the best and heaviest specimens now remaining approach so very near to the normal weight of the Babylonian or Æginæan didrachma, that we may confidently reckon them as having been originally the same (c. vi. § 3). It appears however, that the subordinate divisions of the Hebraic scale were not coincident with those of the Æginæan, which portioned the drachma into 6 obols: the Hebraic holy shekel or didrachm was divided into 20 gera, and the common shekel or drachma (the half of the holy shekel) into 10 gera: thus rendering a gera the equivalent of an Attic obolus (vi. 3 and vi. 5). M. Boeckh gives in c. vi. § 7, the weight of a number of different coins, some of various Syrian kings, others of the Phenician cities. The heaviest and least worn amongst them come so near to the normal weight of the Æginæan didrachm as to authorise the conclusion that they were intended to conform to it: and there are several conformable coins, belonging to the Sicilian city of Panormus, which raise an inference that the same standard of weight and money had passed from Tyre to its colony Carthage.

That both the Euboic talent with its subdivisions, and the Babylonian talent with its subdivisions, were in use throughout the Persian empire, is proved by the fact that the tributes to government were required to be paid in them. I may remark however, that it is very doubtful whether the Persian tribute was paid in coined money. Herodotus tells us, that it was the practice of the great king's officers to melt the silver and gold which they received in payment of tribute, and to pour it into large earthenware jars: as soon as the metal cooled, the jars were broken: portions were then detached from the mass when there was occasion to make disbursements³. We know farther from the same historian, that the gold and silver in the treasury of Kroesus was principally, if not entirely, uncoined⁴. There

³ Herod. iii. 96. Τοῦτον τὸν φόρον
θησαυρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ὅπῳ τοιῷδε.
Ἐκ πύθους κεραμίνοισι τήξας κατεγγέει·
τλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος, περιαιρείει τὸν

κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεῖθῃ χρημάτων.
κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσον ἂν ἐκαστοτε
δέηται.

⁴ Herod. vi. 125.

could be no advantage in receiving coin when it was destined to be melted: moreover, the coins, which the great king might receive at one extremity of his large empire, would be unsuitable for payments at the other extremity, or even at the centre. The object of the requisition was a given weight of fine metal; weighed according to the Euboic, or smaller talent, for the gold; according to the Babylonian, or larger talent, for the silver. I shall have occasion to revert to this point, which I do not find noticed by M. Boeckh, when I come to speak of the conventions between Antiochus and the Romans.

Both the Babylonian and the Euboic scale of weight passed from Asia, probably through the medium of Phenicians, into Greece: the former being adopted principally in Peloponnesus and the Dorian states: in Bœotia, Phokis, Thessaly, Makedonia, and Krete. M. Boeckh adds Achaia to the list: but the passage of Hesychius, on which he relies, is obscure and unsatisfactory⁵. The conventions between Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, in the Peloponnesian war, respecting the pay of troops, were stipulated in Æginæan drachmæ and trioboli; and the reckoning of the assembled Amphiktyonic council was carried on in Æginæan staters or didrachms⁶. There may possibly have been other scales in some Grecian cities coinciding neither with the Æginæan, the Euboic, and the Attic: but we have no distinct information concerning any such. The coins now remaining, of those Grecian states which followed the Æginæan standard, do not exhibit a full proportion of 5:3 between the Æginæan and the Attic drachma: their actual weight falls decidedly below it. On the ground of this inferior weight, Mr. Hussey, in his instructive *Treatise on the Ancient Weights and Measures*, disputes the correctness of Pollux, in giving the proportion of 5:3, a statement hitherto universally admitted, and which M. Boeckh successfully vindicates. That states which professed to follow the Æginæan scale, should nevertheless coin a

⁵ Hesych. *παχέην δραχμὴν τὸ δίδραχμον Ἀχαιοί*. When the Achæan confederacy first established itself extensively in Peloponnesus, the cities composing it were bound by a special resolution to use

the same weights and measures and coins. Polyb. ii. 37.

⁶ Thukyd. v. 47; also Xenoph. *Hellen.* v. 2, 21. Boeckh. *Corp. Inscript. Græcarum*, No. 1688.

degraded money, is by no means astonishing, nor does the fact furnish any reason for questioning the proportions announced to us as normally belonging to the scale. Of the various Greek states which professed to follow the same standard, some coined better money, others worse, according to circumstances: the general tendency amongst them, as it has been in modern no less than in ancient times, was to lower continually the value of their coins, and never again to raise it. The Athenian mint maintained the integrity of its coinage, from Solon downward, longer than the rest; but we may perfectly well admit, as it is stated by K. O. Müller, no less than by Mr. Hussey, that the Æginæan didrachm, as it was actually coined in Peloponnesus during the Peloponnesian war, had become so lowered as only to be worth $1\frac{1}{4}$ Attic didrachms, without discarding the belief, that the Æginæan scale, as first introduced and applied, placed these two coins in the ratio of 5 : 3. M. Boeckh produces positive evidence that such was actually the fact, from the still remaining coins of Melos and Byzantium; both of them Dorian settlements, and one a colony of Sparta. Very ancient coins are found of both these cities, exhibiting the full weight of the Æginæan standard, with a deduction altogether insignificant; and there is every reason to conclude that these states must have derived their scale of coinage from their mother cities in Greece Proper, maintaining it faithfully in practice even after the latter had silently receded from it. The coins of the Makedonian kings, anterior to Alexander the Great—those of the Bisaltæ and those of the Chalkideans in Thraké—exhibit in like manner very nearly the full Æginæan standard weight. Either these are to be taken as examples of the genuine, undegraded Æginæan standard, and as authenticating the proportion which Pollux gives us, of 5 : 3 between that standard and the Solonian Attic: or else they must be taken as instances of some other monetary scale heavier than the Æginæan—which is unsupported by any evidence, and contrary to all probability.

Respecting the Euboic talent, the opinion which M. Boeckh now maintains, that it is identical with the ante-Solonian Attic talent, is supported by the approximative weight of many actual coins, as well as by strong indirect evidence—the adoption of it

introducing a high degree of symmetry into the systems of Grecian coinage. In his *Public Economy of Athens*, our author had treated the Euboic talent as closely approximating to the Attic talent introduced by Solon, but he has since seen reason to alter his judgment.

We know the value of the Solonian Attic talent, as well as the extent of depreciation which Solon introduced: we know, therefore, that the talent, as it stood before his depreciation, was considerably less than the Æginæan talent. Apart from the Solonian Attic, the Æginæan and the Euboic are the only scales of which we find any mention throughout Greece Proper, in the earlier periods of Grecian history: the scale prevalent at Athens was not the Æginæan; and there is presumption, both negative and positive, that the Euboic, which derived its name from the Ionic cities of Eubœa, and which we know to have lasted for many centuries afterwards in the Ionic city of Prienê⁷ in Asia Minor, was also adopted in the metropolis of the Ionic race, just as the chief seat of the Æginæan scale was among the cities of Dorian race.

Admitting the Euboic talent to have been that which existed at Athens down to the legislation of Solon, it stood to the Æginæan talent in the ratio of 5 : 6, and to the Solonian talent in the ratio of 25 : 18: the drachma belonging to it being of the weight of 93.5 English grains. And this weight is, to a considerable degree, borne out by the remaining coins of various cities in Eubœa, as well as by those of the Chalkidic cities of Rhégium in Italy, and Naxos in Sicily (*Metro.* viii. 3, 4).

In the ninth chapter of the *Metrologie*, M. Boeckh investigates the proceeding of Solon in respect to the Athenian monies, and establishes upon grounds, very sufficient and satisfactory, the extent of depreciation which he introduced. He supposes, with much probability, that the precise point to which Solon carried his depreciation was determined by the definite and simple ratio which he desired to establish with the Æginæan talent—at that

⁷ Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript. Græcar.* No. 2906. Dioskurides promises, to each of the persons going through their training in the gymnasium, an Eu-

boic mina of beef:—βοείου κρέως μνῶν Εὐβοικίην. I do not perceive that M. Boeckh has referred to this in his *Metrologie*.

early time, in all probability, the latter was really adhered to in practice by the Peloponnesian and other states around, which it ceased to be afterwards. The ratio of the Æginæan to the Euboic or ante-Solonian talent was as 6 : 5—to the Attic talent established by Solon, as 5 : 3. The ratio of the Euboic to the Attic talent was as 25 : 18.

The Attic monetary standard as established by Solon was the lowest then known in Greece, but it was at the same time faithfully adhered to by the Athenian mint, to a degree at that time very unusual. Partly from the general tendency to substitute a low standard in place of a high one—partly from the ascendancy subsequently acquired by Athens—the Attic standard became extensively diffused throughout Greece as well as Sicily and Asia Minor. M. Boeckh seems to be of opinion, that the Solonian Attic talent, was originally co-existent in Asia, along with the Æginæan and Euboic talent : but for this there seems little evidence.

Respecting the Egyptian scale of weight and money, of which M. Boeckh treats in his tenth chapter, there is no information anterior to the time of the Ptolemies ; no coins have been found of an earlier date, nor does it appear that any earlier Egyptian coins were ever struck. The coins of the Ptolemies now remaining conform very nearly to the Æginæan or Babylonian scale of weight : they are principally tetradrachms and didrachms adapted to the weight of the Æginæan talent : and the reason why they were so was, in all probability, that the first Ptolemy adopted that scale of weight which he found already current in Egypt. For the tendency throughout Greece during the preceding century had been to discontinue the Æginæan scale in coinage, and to adopt the Attic ; and Alexander the Great had recently introduced this change into the Makedonian coinage. There is therefore a strong presumption that the scale of weight current in Egypt in the earlier times was the Babylonian or Æginæan. Gradually this standard became degraded in practice and abandoned, in Egypt as well as elsewhere : the name drachma at the time when that country passed from its native kings to the formal dominion of the Romans, was given to a coin equivalent only to the Roman denarius and the Attic drachma of the same period : but the time

and manner in which this change was brought about, cannot be clearly made out.

Such is the extensive and interesting analogy which M. Boeckh has established between the units and scale of weight, and the monetary scales founded upon them, throughout the various portions of the Hellenic and Oriental world: and such is the relation, which he has been the first to set forth clearly, between the three principal monetary scales prevalent in Greece—the Æginæan, the Euboic, and the Attic. Of the copious collection of particular facts, and the luminous reasonings by which his conclusions are sustained, I cannot, in the present short paper, pretend to give any adequate idea. I now pass to other points on which he has not been equally successful.

He lays it down, (*Metrol.* ix. 2. p. 122) as a ratio both certain and precise, that the Roman pound was $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Attic mina of 100 Solonian standard drachmæ: and this ratio he cites frequently in the course of his work, appealing to it as a means of establishing numerous ulterior conclusions. But the proof upon which it rests is neither adequate nor convincing. First, he refers to the stipulation in the treaty between the Romans and the Asiatic king, Antiochus. During the first negotiations carried on by the Romans with that defeated prince, they required that he should pay them 15,000 Euboic talents, by stated instalments: (Polyb. xxi. 14) but in the second negotiations, or final and amended treaty, the conditions stood as follows—Ἀργυρίου δὲ δότῳ Ἀντίοχος Ἀττικοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρίστου τάλαντα 12,000, ἐν ἔτεσι 12, διδούς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος χίλια· μὴ ἔλαττον δὲ ἐλκέτω τὸ τάλαντον λιτρῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν 80. (Polyb. xxii. 26). Antiochus engages to pay to the Romans 12,000 talents of *the finest Attic silver*, each talent to weigh not less than 80 Roman pounds. Because Attic silver is here specified, M. Boeckh contends that no other can be meant than Attic talents: but this is an unfounded inference, as we may see by examining the treaty concluded a short time before, between the Romans and Ætolians, wherein the latter thus covenant—Δότωσαν δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ ἀργυρίου μὴ χειρόνος Ἀττικοῦ, παραχρῆμα μὲν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ 200 τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀντὶ τρίτου μέρους τοῦ ἀργυρίου χρύσιον, ἐὰν βούλωνται, δίδοντες, τῶν δέκα μνῶν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου μνᾶν δίδοντες. (Polyb. xxii. 15). Here we find an engagement to pay 200

Euhoic talents of fair Attic silver: thus evincing that the mention of "*the best Attic silver*," in the treaty with Antiochus, neither implies any reference to Attic talents, nor sustains the inference which M. Boeckh builds upon it—of the normal ratio 60 : 80 between the Roman pound and the Solonian Attic talent^a.

To me there appears something anomalous in defining a recognised Grecian metallic standard by a given weight in Roman pounds: and, accordingly, we find in the other treaties that when the Euhoic standard is specified, no mention is made of Roman pounds, nor of any foreign weight. The fact, that in this final treaty with Antiochus, all specification of a Grecian standard is omitted, and a standard composed of Roman pounds substituted in its place, seems to me to indicate that the talent, so defined, was a mere denomination of weight, chosen for the occasion—not identified with any known Grecian system, though approximating to the Attic talent. It is to be remembered, that what the Romans wanted, was, not Grecian coins, but Grecian silver of a given weight and fineness: this is shewn by the stress laid upon the quality of the silver—"fair Attic silver"—"*the best Attic silver*." When, in their first negotiations, they required Antiochus to pay 15,000 Euhoic talents, or, when they demanded from Carthage 10,000 Euhoic talents, (Polyb. xv. 7) they could not have meant to insist upon receiving that enormous sum in didrachms and tetradrachms of the Euhoic scale: such coins, if brought to Rome, must be melted and re-coined before they could be made available. The essential object with them, was to define the weight of silver to be paid to them, and a definition by Roman pounds would be most easily acted upon by Roman commissioners. The word *talent* was received in many different senses, in Sicily, Italy, and Greece: a special meaning was put upon it for this particular occasion: just as, in any payment required to be made from

^a Livy, in reciting the treaty between the Romans and Antiochus, gives the sum—"Argenti probi 12,000 Attica talenta—talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat," (xxxviii. 38). But this, I conceive, is not to be attended to, when we have before us the far higher authority as well as the much more specific statement of

Polybius. When Livy recites the former treaty with the Ætolians, he describes the sum to be paid simply as *Euhoica talenta*: without any regard to the additional words of Polybius, ἀργυρίου μὴ χείρονος Ἀττικοῦ: which words, nevertheless, are essential to the comprehension of the mode and form in which the payment was to be made, (xxxviii. 9).

England to America, an arbitrary rate of exchange, not widely removed from the ordinary rate, might be determined beforehand between the pound sterling and the dollar.

The only other testimony adduced by M. Boeckh, of the alleged exact ratio of the Roman pound and the Attic Solonian mina (3 : 4), is contained in a sentence of the *Metrologus* of the Benedictine *Analekta*; in the interpretation of which he assumes as certain, what is at best doubtful, that 'Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς, in the language of so very late a writer, means standard Solonian drachmæ. But even if we grant this assumption, the evidentiary force of the passage will still remain very disputable. For there are several statements in the other metrological writers (see Galen, Dioskorides and Kleopatra, as printed in Stephens's *Thesaurus*, besides Priscian *de Ponderibus*, v. 33) distinctly contradicting it, and announcing other proportions; and M. Boeckh has shewn no reason why they should all be set aside, and the authority of the Benedictine *Analekta* exclusively trusted. It is true that there is much contradiction and discrepancy in their various statements of the ratio between mina, drachma, libra, and uncia (*Metrol.* p. 116—120); but the reasonable inference, even from this irreconcilable confusion, is, that the two scales of weight were in the beginning radically distinct,—having no point of actual contact, and no exact or normal ratio between them. If, as M. Boeckh supposes, there had been a normal and original correspondence between the two scales, in the proportion of 60 minæ, or 1 Solonian talent to 80 Roman pounds, would not this fact have been intimated by Pliny or by Celsus? Both of these authors treat the Attic drachma as the equivalent of the denarius, 84 to the Roman pound: they consider the Attic mina as 100 : 84, in reference to the Roman pound. Now this was nothing more than an approximative ratio first derived from the comparison of the degraded coinage of both states; and if M. Boeckh's supposition be correct, it must have superseded the ancient, precise normal ratio, of 100 : 75, which must have been as well known as the ratio of the Attic χοῦς and μετρήτης to the Roman congius and amphora. The silence of Pliny and Celsus is to me a strong reason for believing that no such exact proportion between the Attic mina and the

Roman pound originally existed. And this contradictory evidence, positive as well as negative, of which M. Boeckh takes little notice, appears to me to outweigh the unsupported testimony of the Benedictine *Metrologus*.

Wurm in his treatise (*De Ponderum, Nummorum, &c. Rationibus ap. Romanos et Græcos*, Stuttgart 1821) adopts the same view as M. Boeckh in regard to the treaty between the Romans and Antiochus: he considers it certain that exact Attic talents and nothing else, must be meant: and he says, "Sequitur in his presse Livius Polybium:" which is not correct, since in the very cardinal point of the question, in the specification of "Attica talenta," Livy departs from Polybius. Wurm also agrees with M. Boeckh in setting aside the dissentient testimonies of the later metrological writers. But the general scope of Wurm's book is not the same with that of M. Boeckh: the former professes only to exhibit the actual relative weight, as nearly as it can be found, of Attic talents, and Roman pounds: and for this purpose we have evidence enough in the coins, without any appeal to the treaty above mentioned. The number of Attic coins still remaining is quite sufficient to enable us to determine approximatively, with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes, the standard weight of the Solonian drachma: the result of very numerous particular trials brings it to 67.37 grains Troy, according to M. Boeckh: to 66.6, according to Mr. Hussey. One Attic talent, or 6000 of these drachmæ, is nearly equal in weight to 80 Roman pounds: and therefore the ratio of 3 : 4 between the Roman pound and the Attic mina, if stated simply as a tolerably near approach to the truth, is one which I am by no means disposed to question.

But this is not sufficient for M. Boeckh's argument, which requires a rigid distinction between precise ratios and approximative ratios. For the latter, as he himself justly lays it down, are to be regarded as merely accidental and undesigned: while the former carry with them evidence of systematic and intentional harmony between the two scales compared—of original relationship either in the way of filiation or in that of fraternity. M. Boeckh is thus compelled to maintain a position much more difficult than that of Wurm: he undertakes to demonstrate that the ratio of 3 : 4 between the Roman pound and the Attic mina is mathema-

tically exact, being involved in the normal schemes of the two systems—and he dwells upon it as a capital point of original and intentional contact between them. It is in this light that he considers it, in very many passages of his book, when he treats it as a matter proved, and appeals to it confidently as a ground for farther inferences: it is in this light that I consider it also, when I maintain that he has produced no sufficient evidence to entitle him to do so.

To point out an instance of his employment of this very problematical ratio as an ascertained premise in ulterior reasoning, we need only pass to the 17th chapter, in which he proposes to establish “the deduction of the Roman cubic foot and foot of length, from the Æginæan weight and the Grecian cubic measure—and the *intentional* ratio of the Roman foot to the Grecian foot, as the cube root of 9 to the cube root of 10; $\sqrt[3]{9} : \sqrt[3]{10}$.” (p. 284). He first seeks to prove that “the Grecian (or more properly speaking, the Æginæan) pound is to the Roman pound as 10 : 9:” next, that the Grecian cubic foot is to the Roman cubic foot in the same ratio—10 : 9; and his argument proceeds as follows (p. 285):

“It is a matter of fact that the Roman pound is to the half of the Æginæan mina as 9 : 10; for *it* (viz. the Roman pound) is to the Attic mina as 3 : 4; and the Attic mina is to the Æginæan mina as 3 : 5, consequently the Roman pound is to the Æginæan mina as 9 : 20, or to the half of the Æginæan mina as 9 : 10. But this half Æginæan mina was a pound, as will be shewn hereafter: it is therefore demonstrated, that the Æginæan and the Roman pound were in the ratio of 10 : 9. It remains still to demonstrate, that the Olympic cubic foot, and the Roman quadrantal, stood in the same relation; but this cannot be done with equal strictness.” Unable to offer a strict proof of this ratio of 10 : 9 between the Grecian cubic foot and the Roman quadrantal, M. Boeckh gives some general considerations in the way of indirect evidence, and he here again puts in the front rank the precise ratio between the Grecian and Roman pound which he supposes himself to have just before demonstrated. “We acknowledge a complete coincidence of the Grecian and Roman pound in the ratio of 10 : 9, which implies that the

latter was originally adapted to the standard of the former," (p. 286). Here we see that he is dealing not with simple approximations, leaving a certain amount of practical error, but with exact coincidences, involved in the normal schemes of the two systems, and shewing that the framers of the one have adjusted their arrangements with a view to the other. And the whole of his proof of systematic analogy between the Roman and Grecian scales of weight, rests upon the admission of an exact ratio of 3 : 4 between the Roman pound and the Solonian mina ; which I have already shewn to be uncertain and unattested.

Another point which M. Boeckh includes as established, in the demonstration which I have cited just above, is, that the Æginæan mina contained two Æginæan litræ or pounds. When we turn to the chapters in which he assigns his evidence for this, it will appear very inconclusive: (xix. 1. p. 303 ; xxiv. 2. p. 343). The Æginæan scale of weight consisted of talents, minæ, drachmæ, and oboli: it had no pounds nor ounces. When the Greek colonies settled in Sicily, they found a copper currency among the Sikel population, and an independent scale of weight consisting of pounds and ounces, with which their own became blended. The result is highly perplexing, and in many points not intelligible, for want of evidence: but we know, and M. Boeckh has very clearly shewn in opposition to the opinion of Bentley and others, that the Sicilian talent contained 120 litræ in money value, and therefore that one Sicilian mina contained two litræ in money value. We know also from Aristotle that the Sicilian litra was equal in value to an Æginæan obolus of silver, which was therefore in Sicily called a silver litra. But it is nowhere shewn that the Sicilian talent containing 120 litræ in value was of the *weight* of an Æginæan talent: nor that the *weight* called a litra in Sicily was $\frac{1}{120}$ th part of the *weight* called a Sicilian talent; much less, of an Æginæan talent. At the time when the identity of meaning between litra and obolus first took its rise, the litra contained a quantity of copper such as could be purchased in the market for an Æginæan obolus: that this quantity of copper was in weight precisely the $\frac{1}{120}$ th part of an Æginæan talent weight, is certainly not very probable, and not to be admitted without some positive proof. And M. Boeckh himself appears only to contend that the ratio was something originally not very

far from the truth (see xxiv. 2. p. 343); so that it is altogether impossible to rely upon it as evidence of original and intrinsic relationship between the Roman and the Æginæan pound, even if we consider the expression *Æginæan pound* as admissible.

I now come to the ratio which M. Boeckh alleges to have subsisted between the Olympic cubic foot, and the Roman cubic foot or quadrantal: as 10 : 9. Of this he has himself stated (see the passage already cited from p. 285) that he is unable to offer sufficient direct proof: and the general considerations into which he enters (pp. 286, 287) will not be found to compensate for the absence of such proof. Yet he introduces in other places this unproved ratio for the purpose of establishing ulterior conclusions: for example in p. 277, (xv. 2) he says: "The Attic metretes contains 72 Roman sextarii: but the Greek cubic foot is, as will be hereafter shewn, $\frac{10}{9}$ of the Roman quadrantal, which contains 48 sextarii: the Greek cubic foot is therefore $53\frac{1}{3}$ sextarii, and the Attic metretes $\frac{27}{20}$ of the Greek cubic foot." Here are two new conclusions, the authority of which rests entirely upon the admission of the ratio of 10 : 9 between the Greek cubic foot and the Roman quadrantal—which M. Boeckh believes himself to have proved, but has not proved: and again these two new conclusions—the equality of the Greek cubic foot to $53\frac{1}{3}$ Roman sextarii, and the ratio of the same to the Attic metretes, as 20 : 27—appear in other parts of his volume as if they too were matters ascertained, (see xiii. 7. p. 242; xiv. 3. p. 263; xvi. 2. p. 282). In researches such as these of M. Boeckh, unless the fundamental positions are placed beyond all doubt, the subsequent deductions become illusory, and are but too well calculated to illustrate the impressive warning, which he has himself delivered in his preface, against finespun metrological hypotheses.

The well-known correspondence between the Attic measures of capacity, both liquid and dry, and the Roman measures of capacity,—both as to positive quantities and scale of division—is a fact very striking and remarkable. Now the Roman measures of capacity exhibit an exact proportion with the Roman weights: an amphora or quadrantal weighing precisely 80 Roman pounds, and a congius (the parallel both in quantity and denomination of the Attic $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) weighing precisely 10 pounds. This correspondence,

a fact certain but hitherto unexplained, M. Boeckh wishes to trace to a supposed original correspondence of the scale of weight, transmitted from Babylon first to Greece and then to Rome: the cubical unit being in all the three cases (he asserts) determined by a given weight of rain-water (see pp. 286, 287). I have already said that his deduction of the Æginæan scale of weight from the Babylonian, appears to me sufficiently sustained, and the light which he has thereby thrown upon the statical systems, both of Greece and the East, is new and valuable. But in extending the same deduction to Rome—in tracing the acknowledged correspondence of Roman and Attic cubical measures to a primitive correspondence of Roman and Attic weights,—he has, in my judgment, altogether failed. I am the more anxious to point this out, because his copious erudition may perhaps enable him either to strengthen his proof, or to discover some better mode of explanation: and I am very sure that there is no man in Europe more capable of solving a problem at once so difficult and so interesting to philological enquirers.

I pass over M. Boeckh's remarks on the relation of the Grecian and Roman foot of length: his eleventh chapter contains ample particulars as to the actual length both of one and the other, but his attempt to connect them in theory, as if the Roman foot had been originally adapted to the Grecian in the ratio of 24 : 25, is an hypothesis resting upon unsupported analogies (compare xi. 8. p. 199; and xvii. 2, 3, 4. pp. 288—292). I come to the positions which he lays down, respecting the relation of Grecian weights and measures one with another: wherein I discover much which appears to me erroneous and illusory.

It has been already mentioned that there exists in the Roman system, a precise, determinate connection between the weights and the cubic measures: the amphora or quadrantal weighing by legal standard 80 pounds; and the congius (= Attic $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) weighing 10 pounds. Now M. Boeckh thinks that he can establish the like precise and determinate connection between the Grecian weights and Grecian cubic measures. The Roman amphora contains 48 sextarii, the Attic metretes 72 sextarii: the former weighs 80 Roman pounds, therefore the latter weighs 120 Roman pounds: but *the Roman pound is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Attic mina*: therefore the Attic

metretes weighs 90 Attic minæ or $1\frac{1}{4}$ Attic talent: or in other words, the Solonian talent is equal to a weight of water $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Attic metretes (xv. 2. p. 278).

Such is M. Boeckh's proof of the exact and determinate connection between the Grecian weights and Grecian cubic measures. And here again we see that the whole cogency of the proof depends upon the admission, that the Roman pound is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Solonian mina—and that the ratio between them is rigorous, numerical, and essentially belonging to the two systems; not simply approximative. In such preliminary admissions no inquirer can acquiesce, as I have already endeavoured to shew, until ampler evidence is produced than that which is contained in the *Metrologie*.

Nor is this the only defective point in the book respecting the Grecian cubic measures. It is a recognised fact, that in the Solonian Attic scale the monetary talent, mina, and drachma, are each $\frac{2}{3}$ of the respective denominations in the Æginæan scale: M. Boeckh has attempted to shew that the same ratio prevails between the cubic measures of the two scales; that the Solonian Attic metretes and medimnus are each $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Æginæan. The evidence in support of this position is really so feeble that I cannot explain to myself how it should have appeared to him satisfactory. First (*Metrol.* xv. 1, p. 275), he cites a passage from Lucian, which proves only, at the very most, that the Æginæan medimnus was larger than other measures of the same denomination—if indeed it proves any thing to the point, of which reasonable doubt may be entertained (*Lucian, Timon.* c. 57). Next, he quotes a passage out of the *Etymologikon Magnum*, v. Αἰγινᾷ, Ἐλέγετο δὲ τὰ μέγιστα, Αἰγινᾷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νομίσματος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ Αἰγινῶν τάλαντον πλεῖον ἡδύνατο τοῦ Ἀττικῶς; a citation which not only does not assist M. Boeckh's conclusion, but operates powerfully to contradict it; and so sensible is he of this, that he permits himself to discredit his own witness, by annexing as a criticism of his own—"Since the Æginæan money was more notorious than the Æginæan measures, the incorrect limitation is added, ἀπὸ τοῦ νομίσματος, &c." Accepting the statement of the witness, I must reject M. Boeckh's unfounded semi-negation of it. Thirdly, he produces in juxtaposition two distinct

testimonies with regard to the contributions to the public meals at Sparta. Plutarch says, that every partaker of these public meals contributed monthly a medimnus of barley-meal, eight choes of wine, five minæ of cheese, and two and a half minæ of figs (Plutarch. *Lykurg.* 12). But Dikæarchus (*ap. Athen.* iv. p. 141) states that each person contributed to these same meals near upon one Attic medimnus and a half, and some eleven or twelve choes of wine, besides a certain weight of cheese and figs: moreover, for the purchase of condiment, about ten Æginæan oboli (*ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικὰ, οἴνου δὲ χόας ἑνδεκά τινα ἢ δώδεκα, &c.*). Now, before we can combine these two passages, to draw any inference from them as to the relative value of Æginæan and Attic measures, we must adopt several assumptions, each of which is liable to more or less of doubt. First, we must assume that Plutarch and Dikæarchus both speak of the same period, and had in their minds the same actual quantities of meal and wine. Secondly, that Plutarch meant an Æginæan medimnus, and Æginæan choes; for he says no such thing. Thirdly, that Dikæarchus speaks of a *monthly* contribution, and not of any different period: for he specifies no time, whereas, Plutarch specifies a month. And fourthly, that Dikæarchus had heard of and intended to designate some known and definite quantity; for his words, in their obvious meaning, imply that he did not himself accurately know, or that no precise weight was even fixed by law. And when we have taken all these matters for granted, what is the inference which the two passages combined present? Something quite foreign to M. Boeckh's purpose; I will state it in his own words:—"Dikæarchus therefore (he says *Theophrastus*, by an oversight) estimated the Lakonian measure as something less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the Attic. This doubtless coincides in some measure with that value of the Æginæan talent which Hussey had elicited from the coins, something above $1\frac{1}{3}$ of the Attic: but that was merely a value of coins which no longer corresponded with their original standard: and I have sufficiently proved that the Æginæan talent, as weight, stood to the Attic in the ratio of 5 : 3. Even without any closer historical testimony, there is an *internal probability* that the Æginæan and the Solonian Attic measures stood to each

other in the same ratio as the two scales of weights, namely, as 5 : 3—possibly the Spartan measure, even if it conformed to that proportion, might be viewed roundly as about half as much again as then Attic, and by mistake *it might then be treated* as something *less than half* as much again, instead of something *more* than half as much again.”—This is all the positive evidence produced.

Surely, so distinguished a critic as M. Boeckh cannot think that the definite ratio of 5 : 3, between Æginæan and Attic measures, can be admitted upon evidence such as this; passages not only amplified by so many gratuitous postulates, but even distorted from their true and plain meaning. The misfortune is, that he goes on to treat the ratio here spoken of as a matter perfectly ascertained, and to deduce ulterior consequences from it.

But M. Boeckh farther contends, that independent of positive testimony, there is “an *internal probability* that the Æginæan cubic measures stood to the Solonian Attic in the same ratio as the two scales of weight, namely, as 5 : 3.” Admitting for a moment this very questionable position—that identity of ratio between the measures and weights of the two systems is a fact to be presumed, and not to be proved—it amounts to a decisive negation of the ratio of 5 : 3, for which M. Boeckh is contending. When he says that “he has sufficiently proved the Æginæan talent *as weight* to have been in the ratio of 5 : 3 to the Attic,” he cannot have had present to his memory the earlier parts of his own book: for he has distinctly shewn the reverse. He has shewn, and the inscription to which he appeals places the fact beyond a doubt, that Solon, while he altered the value of the talent *as money*, so as to establish a ratio of 3 : 5 with the Æginæan talent, left the talent *as weight* unchanged; or, to use the words of our author himself, p. 115 (ix. 1); “the ante-Solonian mina had disappeared in the money-weight, but still continued in use as commercial weight” (down to the period at least to which the inscription refers). A mina of money, or 100 drachmæ of silver, came by the depreciation of Solon to weigh $\frac{3}{5}$ of an Æginæan mina: but a mina weight of tin, or iron, or any other commodity, remained as it was before, not $\frac{3}{5}$ of an Æginæan mina, but $\frac{5}{3}$ of it. Consequently, the appeal

which M. Boeckh makes to the original ratio of the Æginæan and Attic weights, distinctly contradicts his position, that the Attic cubic measures were in the ratio of 3 : 5 to the Æginæan.

In order to maintain the doctrine here alluded to, M. Boeckh is driven to the inadmissible hypothesis that Solon, when he created the ratio of 3 : 5 between the Attic money-talent and the Æginæan talent, altered at the same time the Attic metretes and medimnus, so as to introduce the same ratio to the corresponding Æginæan denominations. "When Solon," (he says) "diminished the Attic money-weight to $\frac{3}{5}$ of the Æginæan, he at the same time *enlarged* the measures, as we are told by Plutarch on the authority of Androtion. This enlargement once appeared to me a doubtful point: but if the Attic measure had been before purely accidental and local, *without any* correspondence with the weight, it may, doubtless, have been smaller than the new Solonian measure: at any rate, we learn from this statement that Solon established a new metrical scale." (ix. 2, p. 276). Here M. Boeckh overthrows the fundamental assumption on which his previous argument had rested. He had before told us that we might safely presume the Attic and Æginæan measures to be in the same ratio as the respective weights: now he intimates, that the primitive Attic measures may have been "purely local and accidental, without any correspondence with the weights." The argument derived from internal probability, on which he before dwelt, is here formally discarded; and we are left, not only without any positive testimony, but without any rational ground for presuming *a priori*, that the Attic medimnus and metretes were to the Æginæan in the ratio of 3 : 5.

I believe that the statement of Androtion, as quoted by Plutarch, (*Solon*, c. 15), has no reference to the medimnus and metretes, and that we cannot even deduce from it the vague inference last intimated by M. Boeckh—viz. that Solon made *some* new arrangement of the measures. The words of Plutarch are—καὶ τὴν ἅμα τούτῳ γενομένην τῶν τε μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τοῦ νομισματος ἐς τριπλῆν; (so it stands in Reiske's edition: Coray leaves out ἐς). Ἐκατον γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν, πρότερον ἐβδομήκοντα τριῶν ὄσων. Now I think that the words, τῶν μέτρων ἐπαύξησιν, apply simply to the statement which immediately follows—to the increase of the mina

as a *monetary measure*, from 73 drachmæ to 100; of course too, the increase of the talent in the same proportion. I agree with the remark made by M. Boeckh, p. 114, that this is an incorrect way of describing the real monetary change introduced by Solon, inasmuch, as the mina before that change, as well as after it, was divided into 100 drachmæ, and not into 73: the difference consisting in the diminished size and weight of the drachmæ. But still it is the mode of description adopted by Androtion: and we may fairly suppose that the words "*increase of the measures*," refer to nothing beyond the increased number of drachmæ, which every mina and every talent were now made to contain, as particularised in the succeeding sentence.

Moreover, it will appear that the strongest considerations of "internal probability"—something very little short of an internal certainty—conduct us to the conclusion that Solon left the Attic measures generally undisturbed—the reverse of that which M. Boeckh lays down. For we know positively that Solon did not meddle with the weights: he created a double meaning for the words *mina* and *talent*: he introduced the anomaly, that the mina,—which had hitherto meant a known weight of silver, iron, tin, or any other merchandise,—received a special and exceptional sense when applied to silver coin. However men may, in time, become accustomed to this, the first moment of divorce between the scale of weight and that of money, must present to them a perplexing anomaly and repugnance: and there could be but one motive for Solon to permit it. All interference with customary weights and measures is well known to produce so much vexation and discontent, that even the most popular and powerful governments experience prodigious difficulty in carrying it into effect. For the express purpose of affording relief to debtors, Solon degraded the monetary standard: but the anomaly, which his new arrangement introduced, is an evident proof of his reluctance to disturb the general system of weights. And it affords a proof, no less evident, that he would not choose such a moment for re-arranging the liquid and dry measures. For the fragments preserved of his poems, impressively attest his painful sense of the difficulties and dangers against which he had to contend, in the midst of angry mutiny on the part of the degraded and enslaved poor, and

murmuring acquiescence on the part of the rich, in whom all political power had hitherto been vested. To add to the many prevalent elements of discontent, a new one of his own creating, would be, least of all, consistent with the cautious and compromising spirit, which is conspicuous throughout all his enactments.

These arguments, I think, will suffice to shew that the position laid down by M. Boeckh, in regard to the ratio between Attic measures and Æginæan measures, is not only unsupported, but incorrect. We have no ground whatever for believing that the Attic metretes or medimnus was $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Æginæan. We do not at all know what was the ratio between the two—if indeed it be certain that they were not the same.

Along with this position, we are compelled to dismiss all the series of imaginary ratios comprised in the following sentences of the *Metrologie*. (xvi. l. p. 281).

“If it be true that the Olympic cubic foot is $\frac{10}{9}$ of the Roman quadrantal, (N.B. this is altogether unproved) it then contains $53\frac{1}{3}$ Roman sextarii, since the quadrantal contains 48 sextarii. But the Æginæan metretes contains 120 sextarii: (N.B. this is incorrect, depending only on the supposed ratio of the Æginæan metretes to the Attic) therefore its ratio to the Olympic cubic foot is as $120 : 53\frac{1}{3} = 9 : 4$ —or it is $2\frac{1}{4}$ Olympic cubic feet. But the cubic foot has 64 cubic palms: if then the Æginæan metretes was divided like the Attic, as it unquestionably was, into 144 kotylæ, the Æginæan kotylé contained exactly one cubic palm, because $4 : 9 :: 64 : 144$. This beautiful coincidence resulted necessarily from the fact, that the Olympic cubic foot stood to the great Babylonian cubic foot as $2 : 3$, and that the Æginæan metretes contained $1\frac{1}{2}$ Babylonian cubic feet.”

I sincerely wish that this *coincidence* had been sustained by such evidence as to render its trustworthiness commensurate with its beauty.

In the last sentence quoted from M. Boeckh, an alleged ratio is noticed between the Olympic cubic foot and the great Babylonian cubic foot, as $2 : 3$ —a subject to the investigation of which he devotes the twelfth chapter of his volume. And here again I am compelled to lament the feebleness of the positive testimony, in the midst of a series of suppositions and possibilities, all of which end

only in an approximative result: whereas the author professes to detect determinate numerical ratios, and to deduce from them evidence of original correspondence and derivative adjustment between the two systems.

He cites distinct passages from Hero and Didymus, which attest an exact ratio (as 5 : 6) of the Roman foot, to the Philetærian foot employed by the kings of Pergamus in Asia Minor, as well as to the Ptolemaic foot in Egypt: and this Philetærian foot is probably the same with the royal Persian or Babylonian foot, employed under the Persian empire. But the ratio alleged of $\sqrt[3]{2} : \sqrt[3]{3}$ between the Grecian foot and the Babylonian foot rests only upon two passages; of the sufficiency of which the reader shall judge. Herodotus gives the height and thickness of the walls of Babylon in *royal cubits*: he then adds—ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων τρίσι δακτυλίοις (i. 178). Again, the Scholiast on Lucian's *Kataphrus*, evidently copying from Herodotus, comments (c. 16), upon the expression of Lucian, δὲ πῆχει βασιλικῷ, as follows—ὁ γὰρ βασιλικὸς πῆχυς ἔχει ὑπὲρ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν τρεῖς δακτύλους. Upon which M. Boeckh remarks, p. 214: "By the expression μέτριος πῆχυς, as Ideler and others have already observed, *nothing can be meant* except the well-known common cubit of the Greeks, of $1\frac{1}{4}$ Olympic feet:" and he adds that Ideler's view is in this respect confirmed by the Scholiast on Lucian (*Metrolog.* xii. 2. p. 214). Wurm (*de Ponderibus* § 56), adopts the same construction of the passage: but in spite of the concurrence of so many able expositors, I venture to contend that they all put upon Herodotus a meaning which his words do not bear. Herodotus contrasts the royal cubit with the moderate or ordinary cubit: he is speaking purely and simply of Babylonian measures: he intimates nothing whatever respecting the identity of the ordinary Babylonian cubit with the Grecian cubit.

M. Boeckh has shewn very instructively, in the 13th and 14th chapters of the *Metrologie*, that there were in Assyria, in Palestine, and in Egypt, two distinct scales of length—a royal cubit or sacred cubit—and a common cubit: the former longer by a definite quantity than the latter, and employed principally for solemn or public purposes. Now it is plain, when Herodotus calls the royal cubit "longer by three finger-breadths or daktyls than the moderate

cubit," that the direct comparison is between two distinct Babylonian measures. On what ground are we to presume an implied identity between the smaller Babylonian measure and a Grecian measure of the same denomination?

I say, designedly, *identity*, or *precise equality*: the point which M. Boeckh's argument requires him to make out. For if nothing more be meant than approximative equality, this is a matter which I willingly concede. It is to be recollected that the cubit and the foot, having a natural standard, cannot differ very much from each other in any two countries, though they will always differ to a certain extent, unless we suppose an intentional derivation or adjustment. Any English traveller visiting France during the last century, and describing the length of a room or a building, would probably mention the number of feet as reported to him, without noticing the minute difference between the French foot and the English foot. But if he found that the French government, in measuring farms for the assessment of the land-tax, employed a special foot measure, called the royal foot, three inches longer than the ordinary foot of France, he would be struck with this fact, and would insert in his journal—"The royal foot is three inches longer than the ordinary foot." But he would not mean thereby to assert, nor would any reader be authorised to infer, that the ordinary foot of France was equal to the ordinary foot of England.

Just such is the declaration of Herodotus. All which we can legitimately deduce from it, is, that the "moderate cubit" of Babylon differed from the Grecian cubit no more than the ordinary cubit of one nation might naturally differ from the ordinary cubit of another.

Nor is it indeed certain that there was one common cubit in Greece: meaning always a measure adapted to one precise standard. That the Samians had a cubit of their own, we know from Herodotus (ii. 168), who says that the Egyptian cubit was equal to the Samian. M. Boeckh admits that the Samian cubit was completely different from the common Grecian cubit (xiii. 2. p. 221): of course therefore the Samian foot measure must have differed in the same proportion: a fact not easy to be reconciled with the statement of M. Boeckh in another place (xvi. 1. p. 281) "that no other Grecian foot than the Olympic foot, or the foot of

the Olympic stadium, existed." What evidence is there to prove that the Olympic standard of the foot-measure was adopted by all the countless autonomous communities of Greece? Why are we to regard Samos as the solitary case of exception? Long measures differ in this respect from cubic measures or weights—they have a natural standard: but the unit of weight or of capacity must be determined by the special dictum of law. An autonomous community, on first establishing a scale of weight, being under the necessity of making some arbitrary selection, might naturally borrow the Euboic or the Æginæan scale, prevalent amongst its neighbours: but many distinct standards of the foot-measure, all proceeding from the natural standard of the human foot, but each minutely differing from the rest, might co-exist in Greece without any serious inconvenience. We are not to presume here any precise identity, or universal adoption of one common standard, unless we can prove the fact by some positive evidence.

Until the abundant erudition of M. Boeckh can supply such evidence, I must contend that he is not entitled to treat the Olympic foot as an universally adopted Grecian foot: still less is he entitled to consider Herodotus as having alluded to this Olympic foot, and the cubit founded upon it, when he said that "the Babylonian cubit was three daktyls longer than the moderate cubit." Unfortunately, these two unauthorized assumptions lie at the bottom of all the elaborate calculations in the *Metrologie* respecting the Grecian and Babylonian long measures—calculations leading after all only to an approximative result, which M. Boeckh is obliged to excuse by appealing to the inaccurate mechanical proceedings of the ancients. Such mechanical inaccuracy I freely admit; and if sufficient positive testimony were produced, of intentional correspondence between two distinct metrical systems in the ancient world, I should not reject the testimony on the ground that details of the proceeding had not precisely conformed to the attested designs of the framers. But here we are without positive testimony: we are called upon to infer intentional adaptation, or relationship between two systems, merely from harmony in the results; and for such an inference nothing short of exact harmony—no approximative analogies—will suffice. More especially is this true with respect to the foot and the cubit; measures

which always have been and always will be nearly equal, even in countries the most widely separated.

The most remarkable circumstance which characterizes the long measures as well as the weights, of Greece, Asia, and Egypt, is the prevalence of the same scale of division—the cubit, the foot, the span, the palm, and the dactyl. Throughout all the wide extent of territory here spoken of, this same scale of division prevailed, pointedly distinguished from the uncial or duodecimal division of the foot which we find in Italy and Sicily.

That so precise a conformity in the metrical scale argues one common origin, and that Greece was in this respect a borrower from the East, I see no reason to doubt. But that the actual standard of the lengths measured was identical and derivative, I cannot believe until I see it proved. M. Boeckh nevertheless permits himself to assert positively—"As the Grecian long measure has been already shewn to have existed in the earliest times in Egypt, which had a community of system with the Chaldeans, the derivation of the Grecian measure either from the East or from Egypt no longer admits of a doubt." (xvi. l. p. 281). I trust that the complete conviction which this sentence breathes will induce M. Boeckh to re-examine and improve the very precarious evidence on which alone it now reposes.

As I have felt myself compelled to call in question many references upon which M. Boeckh seems implicitly to rely, I will notice one case in which he seems to me to impugn without reason the testimony of one of his own best authorities. In treating of the royal or Philetærian foot, applied in the measurements of Asia Minor under the kings of Pergamus, he cites a passage from Heron, in which the ratio of the Philetærian foot to the Roman foot is given as 6 : 5—given in plain language and with precise fractions (*Metrol.* xii. 2; p. 215). But M. Boeckh finds that this ratio does not exactly comport with that which he imagines himself to have discovered as the original determining ratio of the Babylonian foot to the Grecian foot: viz. $\sqrt[3]{3} \sqrt[3]{2}$. Accordingly, he denies the rigid accuracy of the valuation given by Hero: he says—"Assuredly the estimate of the Philetærian foot in reference to the Roman foot as 6 : 5, is not precise, because it is certain that neither of them was determined with any view to

the other." (p. 218). Now there is not throughout the whole of M. Boeckh's metrological investigations, a more direct, precise, or unimpeached testimony than this of Hero, which he treats as merely approximative: and that too because it does not coincide with a long tissue of calculations of his own, based upon assumptions as yet unsupported. If a statement such as this of Hero is not to be trusted, the class of researches to which the *Metrologie* is devoted will become utterly impracticable: for no better evidence can be procured.

The last four chapters of M. Boeckh's volume are devoted to an account of the various pound weights and scales of weight throughout Italy—of the perplexing variations in the Roman silver and copper money—and of the monetary estimates in the census of Servius Tullius. They are chapters highly instructive: in respect to the Roman silver money, the clearest and most complete that I know. He rejects and refutes the opinion of Niebuhr, that the debasement of the Roman standard was caused or accompanied by an extraordinary rise in the value of copper, so that the diminished coins possessed as great a purchasing power as the full-sized coins had possessed before. Whether the value of the metal *copper* underwent any serious or continued reduction in reference to silver, may be a matter of reasonable doubt: certain it is, that no such adventitious cause need be invoked to account for the degradation of the standard. Such a proceeding has been so nearly universal with governments both ancient and modern, that the contrary may be looked upon as a remarkable exception.

The limits to which this article has already extended will not permit me to furnish any detailed remarks upon M. Boeckh's account of the Italian and Roman scales of weight and money. I will only mention, that since the publication of the *Metrologie*, another work of singular importance on the same subject has appeared in Italy, by the learned fathers Marchi and Tessieri: "L'æs grave del Museo Kircheriano, ovvero le Monete primitive de' Popoli dell' Italia Media ordinate e descritte. Roma 1839." The collection of the Kircherian Museum at Rome, unrivalled in the number and completeness of its specimens of the ancient Italian *æs grave*, and enriched by many recent discoveries, has here, for the first time, been explained and reduced

to order, and connected with the inferences legitimately deducible from it.

Two of these inferences I will briefly glance at, inasmuch as they bear directly upon the positions maintained in M. Boeckh's *Metrologie*: in one case, in the way of confirmation—in the other, of contradiction.

M. Boeckh advances two positions; first, that the duodecimal division of the pound prevailed all over Italy; next, that the absolute weight called by the name of a *pound* was not the same throughout that country—heavier in some parts, lighter in others.

The second of these two positions has been placed beyond a doubt by the new facts set forth in the work of the two learned fathers. They have produced ancient cast copper-money of the Latins and Volscians, which belong to an as, or pound weighing 13 Roman ounces,—and coins of Hadria in Picenum, which indicate an as, reaching even to 16 Roman ounces. The ancient Etruscan pound, as far as we can judge by the coins published and authenticated, appears to have been the lightest in Italy.

But, on the other hand, the opinion of M. Boeckh, that the duodecimal division of the pound was universal throughout Italy, has been shewn to be erroneous. Amongst the people of middle Italy, north of the Apennines, a decimal division of the pound prevailed, distinguishing them from the people south of the same chain, who employed the duodecimal scale. Of the numerous coins belonging to the people south of the Apennines, not a single quincunx, or coin of five ounces, has yet been discovered: the complete series runs from the semis or six ounces downwards, omitting the quincunx—triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia. On the other hand, for the coins north of the Apennines, comprising those of seven different townships, no semis has ever been found; the highest denomination below the as is the quincunx, below which the other coins appear just as in the duodecimal series. There is no way of explaining this very marked and uniform contrast, except by admitting a decimal division of the pound north of the Apennines*. In Sicily, where the coa-

* See the valuable Dissertation of Dr. Lepsius, "*Ueber die Verbreitung des Italischen Münzsystems von Etrurien*," p. 74. (Leipzig. 1842).

lescence of the Grecian and Italian systems produced a complication almost inextricable, a silver quincunx as well as a semis appears to have prevailed: at least we find in the fragments of Epicharmus mention both of πεντάγκιον and ἡμίλιτρον (Pollux, ix. 82). This double scale of weight, prevalent in different regions of Italy, is a remarkable phenomenon; only recently verified, and as yet unexplained.

GEORGE GROTE.

II.

HYMN TO ISIS.

OUR collections of Greek inscriptions have recently been enriched by about one hundred and seventy new ones, which have been published by Professor Ross, of Athens¹. All of them have been found in the islands of the Ægean, which are still promising a rich harvest, as many of these islands have not yet been explored. Among these new inscriptions there are some of great historical interest; several of them are in verse, and one among these has attracted so much the attention of continental scholars that there are already three different editions of it². This is a fragment of a hymn to Isis, which was found in the island of Andros, and is indeed an important document, inasmuch as it shows the extent of the worship of this Egyptian goddess in Greece, and at the same time the curious pantheistic views about this divinity, which appear to be a combination of the religious opinions of the East with those prevalent in the more western parts of the Roman empire. The

¹ *Inscriptiones Græcæ ineditæ*. Collegit ediditque Ludovicus Rossius, Holsatus, &c. Fascicul. II. Insunt Lapides insularum Andri, Ii, Teni, Syri, Amorgi, Myconi, Pari, Astypalææ, Nisyri, Teli, Coi, Calymnæ, Leri, Patmi, Sami, Lesbii, Theræ, Anaphæ et Peparethi. Athenis, 1842. 4to.

² One by Welcker, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Neue Folge, II. p. 326, foll.; another by Th. Bergk, in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* for 1843, p. 36, foll.; and the third is a separate edition by H. Sauppe, *Hymnus in Isim. Distinxit, emendavit, annotavit H. S.*, Turici, 1842. 8vo.

account of the discovery of this hymn is thus given by the editor: "Sequentem hymnum in Isidem reperi inter rudera antiquæ urbis, ad casam Ἰαννάκη Λουκρέζη. Tabula est oblonga, albi marmoris, quatuor columnis inscripta; sed titulum pessime habitum adeo festinanter transscribere coactus fui, ut difficiliora attingere non possem. Exscripsi igitur tantum Col. I et IV; verum sicui otium contingat, tabulamque commode ad lucem obvertat, crediderim etiam Col. II partem superiorem, et per totam fere Col. III dimidiam versuum partem, qua Col. IV attingunt, legi et transscribi posse. Quo magis a præproprio explicandi conatu in præsentia abstineo; neque tamen apographum quamvis mutilum iis, qui linigeræ deæ religiones scrutantur, diutius invidendam esse duxi." From this account we see that Prof. Ross has published scarcely one half of the whole hymn: for even the first column is very much mutilated, and the last eight, or according to Welcker's more accurate examination, the last fifteen lines of the fourth are quite illegible on the stone. As each column contained forty-seven hexameter lines, the whole poem consisted of one hundred and eighty-eight. Professor Welcker, who, on his late excursion in Greece, also visited Naxos, endeavoured to read the second and third columns also, but they are in such a mutilated condition, that in the whole of these two columns not one of the lines is legible entirely; some lines are destroyed altogether, in others only a few words, or a part of one word only is readable, so that it would be scarcely worth while reprinting the fragments here. All that could be read, has been published by Welcker in the *Rheinisches Museum, Neue Folge*, ii. p. 438, foll. His subsequent examination of the first and fourth columns, published by Ross, has also shown that Ross' transcript is not everywhere correct, and the original stone in several instances confirms the conjectures of the editors. We shall, with a few exceptions, give the text of the first and fourth columns as constituted by Bergk, and subjoin the readings of the stone where he has made alterations, as well as some emendations proposed by Welcker and Sauppe. The parts enclosed in brackets contain the supplements of Bergk.

COL. I.

- Αἰγύπτου βασιλεία λινόστολε³, ὕλιγονόσσας
 αὐλακος ἀρχαία μέλεται πολύπυρος ἀγνιά,
 σειστροφόρος Βούβαστος, ἀμαλλατόκοισί τε Μέμφις
 γαθομένα πεδίοισιν, ὅπα στάλαν ἀσάλευτον
 5 εἶσε φιλοθρέσκων ἱερὸς νόμος ἐκ βασιλῆων,
 σᾶμα τεᾶς, δέσποινα, μοναρχείας, ικέταισιν
 λαοῖς ἀπύοισαν. Ἐγὼ χρυσόθρονος Εἷσις,
 ῥωμαλέα σκάπτροισιν, ὅσαν πυριλαμπέος ἀκτίς
 ἀελίῳ σελάγεςκε βολαῖς φορβάμονα γαίαν.
 10 διφαλέω⁴ δ' Ἑρμᾶνος ἀπόκρυφα σύμβολα δέλτων
 εὐρομένα γραφίδεσσι κατέξυσα, ταῖσι χάραξ⁵
 φρικαλέον μύσταις ἱερὸν λόγον, ὅσσα τε δᾶμος
 ἀτραπὸν ἐς κοινὰν κατεθήκατο, πάντα βαθείας
 ἐκ φρενὸς ὑφάνασα διακριδόν· ἄθε τυράννω⁶
 15 πρέσβα Κρόνῳ θυγάτηρ, Εἷσις, δάμαρ εὐρυμέδοντος
 ἐμμί πολυζάλωτος Ὀσείδος, ᾧ ποτε* (νηδύν)
 τὰν αὐτὰν ἀνέλυσα γενέθλιον, (ἀ πλοκάμοισιν)
 βριθομένα συβαροῖσι, λινόστολος⁷. . . .
 αἰπυνώ βασιλῆος, ὃν Ὁρανὸς⁸ εἰγρες
 20 θεσμοθέτις μερόπων, φῶς⁹
 οὐδ' ἀπαμαυρώσει
 ἐμπετάσει λα
 ἀστροφόροι
 θῆλὺ τε γὰρ
 25 ἐξέκαμον

³ The transcript of Ross is ΑΙΝΟ-
 ΣΤΟΔΕΥΔ, which Welcker corrected
 into λινόστολε, σοί, and Sauppe agrees
 with Bergk in reading λινόστολε, τᾷ.
 The conjecture λινόστολε was found by
 Welcker to be the actual reading of the
 stone, and the next word in the inscrip-
 tion is as in our text.

⁴ The stone has ΔΕΙΦΑΛΕΩ.

⁵ The inscription is ΤΑΙΣΧΑΡΑΞΑΣ,

which Welcker alters into ταῖς ἐ-
 ραξ.

⁶ The stone has ΤΥΡΑΝΝΩ, wh
 is retained by Welcker.

⁷ The stone has ΩΠΟΤΟ.

⁸ The stone has ΣΟΒΑΡΟΙΣΕΑΙΝ
 ΤΡΟΠΟΣ.

⁹ The reading of the stone is ΒΑ-
 ΛΗΙ ΟΣΟΝΩΙΛΙΝΟΣΕΙΓΡΕΣ.

⁹ The stone has ΓΩΣ.

- Εἴσις ἐγὼ πολύβουλος
καὶ χθόνα μυδαλέαν
ἐς κρίσιν ὠρανίοισι καταχθονίοις¹⁰ (τε)
ἀτραπιτὸν πλαγκτὰν¹¹
- 30 λοξοπόρου σελάγες(κε κατ' αἰθέρ)α καὶ πυροέντων
ἀέλιον πῶλων ἀγήτορα φαίνοπα¹² κύκλων
ἐς πόλον ἰθύνεσκον, ἔν¹³ εὐκόσμοισι πορείαις
ἄζονες ἰλίγγοισι περκτυπέοντι διαύλῳ
νύκτα διακρίνωσιν ἀπ' ἡματος, ἄδε θαλάσσας
- 35 πρᾶτον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι περάσιμον ἦνυσα¹⁴ μόχθον.
ἄδε δικασπολία ῥώμαν πόρον· ἄδε γενέθλας
ἀρχὰν ἀνδρὶ γυναιῖκα συνάγαγον, εὐ τε σελάνας¹⁵
ἐς δεκάταν ἀψίδα¹⁶ τεθαλότος ἄρτιον ἔργου
φέγγος ἐπ' ἀρτίγονον βρέφος ἄγαγον· ἄδε γονήων¹⁷
- 40 ἄζομένως¹⁸ τιμὰν ἔτι νηπιάχως¹⁹ ὑπὸ μαζῶ
κωρισμοῖς²⁰ ἐδίδαξα μελίφροσι· φοιτάδι δ' ὀργῇ
μᾶνιν ἐρεισαμένα μυκάμονος²¹ ἄχρις ἐπ' εὐνάς
Ἄϊδος ἠπειλήσα μελαμφαρῶν²² τε βερέθρων
ἀστόργοις φυλάκαν βαρυνπάμοσιν· ἐμμι δ' ἀρούρας
- 45 πυρνοτόκῳ μεδέοισα, δαΐξάνδρων δ' ἀπὸ μοιρῶν²³
ἐχθομέναν βρώμαν, ἂν φωλάδες ἔστνυγον²⁴ ἄρκτοι,
τὰν λύκος ὠρυκτὰς, λιμῶ τεθωόμενος²⁵ ἀλκάν—

¹⁰ The stone has QIANIOISIKA . . . XION . . . OΣ. Welcker reads this line ἐς κρίσιν ἀνθρώποισι.

¹¹ The stone has ΠΛΑΓΚΤΕΙ.

¹² The stone has ΦΑΙΝΟΝΑ.

¹³ The stone has ΕΙΘΥΝΕΣΚΟΝΑΝ.

¹⁴ The stone has ΗΝΕΣΑ.

¹⁵ The stone has ΕΥΤΕΣΕ . . . ΤΑΣ.

¹⁶ This is Sauppe's correction, which is adopted by Bergk; the stone has ΑΨΕΙΑΔ.

¹⁷ The stone has ΓΟΝΙΩΝ, or, according to Welcker's more correct examination, ΓΟΝΗΙΩΝ.

¹⁸ The stone has ΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΣ. Welcker has likewise ἄζομένως, and the conjecture is confirmed by the inscription.

¹⁹ Welcker reads νηπιάχους. Bergk's reading is that of the stone.

²⁰ Ross has ΔΩΡΙΣΜΟΙΣ, for which Bergk writes δωρησμοῖς.

²¹ This is the emendation of Bergk and Welcker; the stone has ΜΥΚΑΜΩΝΟΣ.

²² The stone has ΜΕΛΑΜΦΑΡΩΝ, which is retained by Welcker.

²³ The stone has ΔΑΙΞΑΔ. ΩΝΑ-ΠΟΜΕΙΡΩΝ. Welcker conjectures δαΐ-ξάνδρων δ' ἀπομείρω, or ἀπαμείρω, or ἀπαείρω.

²⁴ Welcker has the same emendation as Bergk; the reading of the stone is ΕΣΤΥΣΟΝ.

²⁵ Is the emendation of Welcker and Bergk, which agrees with the inscription; Ross has ΤΕΘΩΟΙΜΕΝΟΣ.

COL. IV.

- ἀελίῳ βασιλῆος²⁶ ὁμᾶ συν
 καί με καλεῦσι πάρεδρον· ἔλα
 συμφέρομ' ἀκτίνεσσι²⁷ κάτω
 ὅσσα δ' ἐμὸς γνῶμων νόος Εἰσιδ(ος)
 5 ἐς πέρας ἰθύνω· τὰ δ' ὑπείροχα πάντ'²⁸ (ἀμαθύνω)
 κῦρος ὑποκλάζοισ', ὑπάταν βασιληίδα τιμάν²⁹
 πτήσσουνθ'³⁰ ἀμετέραν· δεσμῶν δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκην³¹
 ἀλλύω· πλωτὰ δὲ φιλεύδιος Ἀμφιτρίτα
 νησιῖ μελαμπρώροισιν, ὑπαὶ παχυνδέος ἀνχμῶ
 10 ἀνίκα μειδάμων ἰλαρὰν ἐρύθοισα παρειὰν
 ἀμπετάσω Τηθύν³² γλανκῶλενον· ἐν δὲ περητοῖς
 βένθεσιν ἀστιβέα πλαγκτὰν ὁδὸν, εὐτέ με θυμὸς
 κορθύσῃ³³, κλονέω· παντᾶ δὲ μελανθεῖ ροίζῳ
 σπερχόμενος βαρὺ πόντος ἐνὶ σπήλγῳ βαιθείας
 15 μυκάτ' ἐξ³⁴ αὐτῶν· πρᾶτα δ' ἐπὶ σέλματι δούρων
 κολπωτὰν ὀθόναισι θοὰν τρόπιν ἰθύνεσκον,
 οἶδμα καθιππεύοισα· δαμαζόμενας δὲ θαλάσσας
 ὠκυπόροις ἐλάταις ἐλίκαν ἔστασε χορείαν
 Δωρίδος εὐλοχία· περιπάλλετο δ' ἐν φρεσὶ θάμβος
 20 εἰρεσίαν ἀδάητον ἐπ' ὄθμασι³⁵ παπταινοίσας.
 Ἴσις ἐγὼ πολέμῳ κρυερὸν νέφος ἔρκεσι μόχθων
 ἀμφέβαλον κλήζοισι πολυκτέανον βασιλείαν
 θεσμοφόρον· νάσῳ³⁶ δὲ βαθυνομένης ἀπὸ ρίζαν

²⁶ The stone has ΒΑΣΙΑΗΙΟΝ, which is retained by Welcker.

²⁷ The stone has ΑΚΤΕΙΝΕΣΣΙ.

²⁸ The stone has ΥΠΕΙΡΟΧΟΠΙΑΝ-ΚΑΙΣ. Welcker proposes ὑπείροχα πάν-τα (καὶ ἀμὸν).

²⁹ Instead of τιμάν the stone has only ΤΕ, which Welcker fills up τειμάν.

³⁰ This is the emendation of Welcker and Bergk; the stone was afterwards found to have likewise ΠΤΗΣΣΟΝΘ.

³¹ Ross has only ΑΝΑΙ; Welcker ἀνά-γκην, which is confirmed by the stone.

³² Ross has ΤΡΙΟΥΝ.

³³ The transcript of Ross is ΚΟΡΟ-ΥΣΗΙ. But Welcker afterwards found that κορθύσῃ, the conjecture of Bergk, is confirmed by the inscription itself.

³⁴ The emendation of Welcker and Bergk, which is confirmed by the stone; Ross has ΕΣ.

³⁵ The stone has ΕΤΟΘΜΑΣΙ. Welcker reads ἐτ' ὄθμασι.

³⁶ Is the correction of Welcker and Bergk for ΝΑΞΩΣ, and is also the real reading of the inscription.

ἐς φάος ἐκ βυθίας ποτ' ἀνάγαγον ἰλύος αὐτά,
 25 ὥρεα καὶ πε(δίω)ν σπορίμαν βάσιν, ὀργάδα τ' ἄκραϊς
 στηρικταῖ(ς) ρον ὑπερτείνουσα, βοαύλοισ
 μαλοκόμοι αν' ἐπαφριοέντι³⁷ δὲ Νηρεὺς
 πλάζετ' ὄχῳ, νήχων περὶ μάρμαρον ἄνθεσιν ἄχνας³⁸
 φλογερο . . . ρεμεθοντα οτινο κλαῖσιν ἀράσσω
 30 φῶς δὲ κατ' ὀφρύος ἐρσάεσσαν
 βω ποτὶ ματέρ' ἀπεικάζουσιν³⁹
 στειραν ὑπερναλοῖς δὲ κεραυνῶ
 (β)ολαῖς στιβαρὰν θνατοῖσιν⁴⁰ ἀπειλάν.

The nature of the characters of the inscription, as well as the orthography of words and proper names, afford no criterion to determine the time in which the inscription was made; for there is nothing either in the form of the characters or in the orthography which does not occur in inscriptions of the long period from the beginning of the first century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century of our era. The style, language, and prosody, on the other hand, are of a nature which enable us to form some more definite idea as to the time to which the hymn may belong. The style, though it is not without elegance, is bombastic, pompous and fantastic, such as we find it in the epic poets of Egypt towards the end of the fourth century of our era. The language is not always pure Greek, and there are words and forms of words which do not occur in other ancient writers or inscriptions. Upon these circumstances Bergk founds the conjecture, that the author of our hymn was probably a native of Egypt, a conjecture which derives at least some support from the subject of the hymn itself.

And while thus the style and diction would lead us to place the author of our hymn in the fourth or fifth century of our era, the

³⁷ Ross has ΕΠΑΦΡΙΘΕΝΤΙ. Welcker found the right reading ἐπαφριοέντι; Bergk conjectured ἐπαφρισθέντι.

³⁸ This line is in the inscription, ΠΛΑΣΕΤΝ.....ΧΩΝΕΡΙΜΑΡΜΟΡΟΝ ΑΝΘΕΣΙΝΑΧΝΑΣ, and is like the following one, scarcely intelligible.

³⁹ The reading in Ross is ΠΟΤΙΜΑ -

ΤΕΒΑΠΕΙΚΑ = ΟΙΣΑΝ, for which Welcker reads ἀπεικάζουσιν, which is also the reading of the stone. Bergk reads ἀπεικασθείσαν.

⁴⁰ The stone has ΟΝΑΤΟΣ, which both Welcker and Bergk have corrected into θνατοῖσιν.

ideas and sentiments expressed in the poem itself compel us to refer him to an earlier period. It seems clear that the first nine verses of the first column, which describe the powers of the goddess, must have been written at a time when these powers were yet recognised in a great part of the Roman empire. Now we know that in the reign of Theodosius, towards the end of the fourth century the heathen temples of the East, and especially those of Egypt were shut up or destroyed; and it may be regarded as a fact, that from the year A. D. 391, Christianity was *the* religion of the eastern provinces of the empire, although it is at the same time attested that pagan worship was still practised in secret in various places. The hymn to Isis therefore, which was in all probability a public monument dedicated in her temple in Naxos, was composed at a time when the worship of this goddess was yet in a flourishing condition, that is, towards the end of the third, or at the latest about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. If this supposition is correct, the author of our hymn would be one of the forerunners of the numerous Egyptian poets who start up in the fourth and fifth centuries. The fact of Isis being worshipped in Naxos, is attested by an inscription in Boeckh's *Corpus Inscript.* ii. N. 2348, and may also be inferred from the occurrence of the name of Isidorus in an Andrian inscription published by Le Bas (*Inscriptions Grecques et Lat.* Fasc. v. 176.) The custom of dedicating hymns to divinities, which were engraved on columns or marble-tables and set up in the temples, is very ancient. Pausanias (ix. 16. § 1) mentions such a hymn of Pindar which he dedicated to Zeus Ammon, and which was engraved on a column in the temple of Ammon in the oasis. Our hymn to Isis too speaks of a *στήλη* (v. 4) at Memphis, on which the powers of Isis were probably celebrated in such a hymn.

L. SCHMITZ.

III.

GREEK TOPOGRAPHY.

 COLONEL LEAKE'S TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS, WITH
 SOME REMARKS ON ITS ANTIQUITIES.

Second Edition. London, 1841. 2 Vols., 8vo.

EVERY one who has paid any attention to Greek topography, must know what an epoch was made by the appearance of the first edition of Col. Leake's work on the topography of Athens. The tide of mistakes which had gone on unchecked, and even accumulating, since the beginning of scientific investigation at Athens under Spon and Wheler, in 1675, was then, at last, arrested in its course, and the names of the existing remains were, for the most part, incontrovertibly settled. The positions then laid down by Col. Leake have indeed, in some details, been modified since, and may be modified still more, but these modifications have been such as not to affect any point in the rest of the topographical arrangements. All subsequent inquiries have rested on the basis which he formed, and have only tended to confirm and strengthen it. His merit, with regard to Greece, has been what Robinson's *Researches in Palestine* have been to that still more interesting, yet up to this time comparatively unexplored country. In both cases, it is the supplanting of guesses by knowledge, the application of conscientious and learned inquiry to the task, instead of fanciful and ignorant conjecture.

But if the appearance of Col. Leake's first edition may be considered an epoch, as marking the commencement of topographical knowledge of Athens, his second edition may be considered an epoch also, as marking the rapid progress which has been made in the twenty years' interval between them, not only in actual knowledge, but in the greater depth of research, the greater liveliness with which his conclusions are put before us, the greater connexion which is shown to exist between the several parts. This new edition, whilst it is the most important, is yet not the only sign of the increased attention now paid to Greek topography. The

Travels in the Morea, and the *Travels in Northern Greece*, the same author, though inferior to the *Topography of Athens* systematic arrangement and completeness of information, yet, it, must form the basis of at least all English enquiry on Greek topography in general. Dr. Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, the work of a most accomplished scholar, supplying several important deficiencies in Col. Leake's earlier edition, and the popular view of Greek geography which he has given in the letter press to the *Pictorial Greece*, occupy blanks which had not been otherwise filled. In Germany, we may hope for the results of the investigations of K. O. Müller, so ably pursued, and so momentarily interrupted—and for their continuation, by Welcker, who has just returned from a journey to Greece, undertaken with a view to that express object. And from Athens itself, Dr. F. Ulrich and Dr. Ulrichs, professors in the University of Athens, have illustrated Greek topography, the former, by various tracts on some of the disputed points in Athens, and some discoveries on the Greek Islands, and the latter, by a valuable work on Phocæa and especially on Delphi. — Nor must we omit the elaborate papers of Mr. Finlay, on Marathon and Diacria, or of General Gordon, on the Pass of Thermopylæ.

Greek topography, therefore, is occupying, if it has not already occupied, a large space in classical literature, and it may, therefore, be desirable to call attention to a few points, which may show that it is not labour spent in vain.

This is not the place to show the connexion of geography with history: but that there is a peculiar interest in the topography of Greece, over and above what it has in common with that of other countries, might be inferred from the vast proportion of works which have been written upon it. The work of Pausanias as a survey of one particular country, stands alone in ancient literature. Geographers of course there are besides, but Greece is the only country which can boast of an extant¹ ancient topography.

¹ It is not of course meant that there are no other topographies than that of Greece, but that Greek topography alone has awakened sufficient interest to produce works which should survive. For an account of the elaborate topographies of

Athens which have perished—of the thirteen books of Heliodorus on the Acropolis alone—of the four books of Ptolemy on merely the dedications of the Acropolis—see Leake, i. 36 (2nd edit.).

graphy. Even in the middle ages the interest was not entirely laid asleep,—the very extravagance of the misnomers which were affixed to every existing ruin, proves the impossibility which men found of remaining in conscious ignorance about a place once so famous. And from the time of Spon and Wheler to the living writers who have just been enumerated, the catalogue of authors on Greek topography, in the introduction to Dr. Wordsworth's *Greece*, sufficiently shews how powerful an attraction it has possessed for the mind of civilized Europe.

Various causes, doubtless, have contributed to this result. In ancient times, Greece possessed facilities for a study of its topography beyond those of any other country in the then civilized world. Whilst the remains of Egypt attracted notice indeed, but not from the natives of the soil, and whilst the relics of old Rome were buried, then as now, under the grandeur of the empire—whilst Palestine was the land of a nation who were expelled from it before the age when nations begin to be antiquarian—Greece was in the singular position of a country full of antiquities, yet with a still living people, exactly in that stage of decline when antiquities are invested with the greatest charm.

And in modern times, whilst its great fame would of itself excite inquiry, the impediments which the difficulties of travelling throw in the way of a complete elucidation of the topography in any single work, as well as the wish of every new visitant to discover new objects of interest, in a country imperfectly known in Western Europe, would naturally tend to multiply the works connected with it, and prolong them over a long period of time. But there is something deeper than this, which lends a peculiar charm to the study—there is an interest with which the traveller looks upon the scenery of Greece, over and above the mere pleasure arising from early and solemn associations. This charm is supplied, this interest is awakened, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, by the fact, that no other country of equal fame can display so visible a connexion between the character of the scenery and the character and fortunes of those who inhabited it. Of Greece, most emphatically, is it true, that² the

² Thirlwall's *Greece*, II. 362.

men were not made for the country, but that the country was made for the men. Athens could have been nowhere but at Athens. The oracle of the Greek race could have found its appropriate home nowhere but at Delphi. The consciousness of this peculiarity has, from the earliest times, been impressed on those who, by study or residence, have become familiar with the features of Greece. The ancient legend, preserved by Plato³, represented Pallas as planting her chosen race in Attica, because a glance at the country showed her that it was by nature framed for the nurture of virtue and of wisdom. And in modern times it is the characteristic of the histories of Greece, above all others, that, from the scanty sketch which is contained in the first chapter of Goldsmith, to the vivid and elaborate picture which occupies the same place in Thirlwall, they all open with a delineation of its geography.

The connexion in question is, of course, indisputable, more or less, in every case. Few, for instance, can have visited Rome without being impressed by the seeming anticipation of its future greatness in the peculiarities of its situation. We sometimes wonder at the prophetic intimations of the duration of its empire in the early legends which describe the twelve vultures of Romulus; or the resistance of Terminus to remove from the capitol at the command of Tarquin; or at the manner in which the august story of its founder's infancy symbolises the martial spirit and 'wolf-like character of his people. Yet these are not more remarkable, nor are they such certain shadows cast before by the coming destinies of the eternal city, as are suggested by observing how, in the first hour of its birth, it was planted, not on the delightful and luxurious shores of Campania; nor⁵ on the crest of some Etrurian height, where expansion would have been impossible—

³ ἄτ' οὖν φιλοπρόλεμος τε καὶ φιλόσοφος οὖσα ἡ θεὸς τὸν προσφερεστάτους αὐτῇ μέλλοντα οἰσεῖν τόπον ἄνδρας, τοῦτον ἐκλεξαμένη πρῶτον κατήκισεν. ἔκειτε δὴ οὖν νόμοις τε τοιοῦτοις χράμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Plato, *Timæus*, 6. So Critias, 4.

⁴ We cannot make this remark without noticing the powerful expression of the idea in the "Prophecy of Capys," in Mr. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

We are not aware of any passage in Roman writers where the idea itself is distinctly brought out; but it is almost impossible to see the bronze wolf in the capitol without recognising in it the intention to express the fierce and indomitable character of its supposed sucklings.

⁵ This provision for the future expansion of Rome is well put in Gell's *Topography of Rome*, II. 209.

but near a barren coast, under the shelter of a range of hills, forming a sufficient bulwark to protect its feeble infancy from the surrounding mountaineers, yet not so lofty or abrupt as to restrain the growth of its gigantic powers, when they were sufficiently matured to extend the outskirts of the actual city to the distance of thirty miles, and of its empire to the Atlantic and Euphrates. This remarkable and, as it may well be called, providential adaptation of the outward habitation to the inward soul of nations, is so important a province of historical investigation, and so evident a witness to the fact of an order and plan of moral government in the destiny of states, that it is not to be wondered at if more than ordinary attention has been paid to the topography of the most complete and striking exemplification of this idea that has ever yet appeared. For such Greece appears to be; and without giving her a higher part in the history of the world than was really hers, yet, so far as we can judge from the result, the peculiar part which she was called to perform would, *à priori*, dispose us to expect that a more than ordinary connexion would exist between her history and geography—that a nation which was to exhibit the highest possible perfection to which the unassisted human intellect could attain, should imbibe the largest possible share of all the purely natural influences which could work upon it—that a nation which was to fix the standard of taste and beauty for all countries and ages, should be endowed with a temper which should receive, and placed in a country which should suggest, all such images as should most conduce to this result.

It would be impossible to go through all the details of this connexion, or to point out precisely where it is an actual case of cause and effect, or where it is merely a case of illustration.—That there was a peculiar influence exercised over the character of the Greek states by the local features of their respective abodes, seems to be the real ground lying at the root of their favourite idea of *indigenouness*; chiefly applicable indeed to the Athenians, who most of all claimed it, but applicable more or less to all. In its most general form it appears in the instinct by which they received every native, and repelled every foreign, impression. The Romans imported art, manners, worship, from every quarter,—province after province with all its usages was incorporated into the

enormous mass of the empire; and yet for a time it became gigantic without becoming unwieldy or distorted. In Greece, on the other hand, the slightest interfusion of the elements even of one Grecian state or race with another, if they were not so transmuted in the process as in fact to become naturalized, acted like a pestilence; and when the Macedonian, and afterward the Roman dominion, had extended itself over Greece, all her energies were first paralyzed, and then destroyed for ever. What may have been the influence of Egypt in the period which lies beyond the reach of history, it is of course difficult to determine—but how striking is the contrast between its visible traces as left in Greece and in Rome! In Greece, the only indisputable vestige of it is the remnant of a pyramid, of unknown date, still to be seen on the plain of Argos. In Italy, every traveller knows how the temple of Isis is one of the most remarkable features among the ruins of Pompeii, and how the city of the Cæsars and the popes is studded with the obelisks of Amenophis and Sesostris.

This tendency, if it had not its first root, must have found great encouragement, in a peculiarity of Greek geography which we do not always sufficiently consider, viz. its *mountains*. Never did any poet more completely catch the distinctive feature of a country than Gray when he described Greece as a land

Where each *old poetic mountain*
Inspiration breathes around.

In the deficiency of forests, lakes, and rivers, in the scenery of Greece, it is precisely the exquisite outline of its mountains—their venerable overhanging crags, their deep ravines, hoary with thyme,—which form the real life and genius of the landscape. The peculiarity of the Greek mountains is truly and simply given in Mr. Fellowes' description of those in Lycia: "I have never seen mountains so beautiful, so poetically beautiful. I remember seeing something of the same effect in those of Carrara from the Spezia road, and again in Greece; and in each case they were, as here, of marble. They have a craggy broken form and a gray silvery colour, which gives them a delicacy of beauty quite in contrast to the bold grandeur of the granite peaks of Switzerland, or the rich beauty of the sandy rocks of England." (*Asia Minor*, p. 189.) They also fix at once the limits and character

of the Greek states. Every one of these was situated in a plain, bounded by mountains, whether entirely surrounded by them, as Orchomenus and Sparta,—or on a long strip of coast, left by their receding from the shore, as in Elis and Achaia,—or in plains of which the fourth side was open to the sea, as in Attica and Argolis. A solitary fortress or a retired sanctuary at times interrupted the intervening tracts of mountain-country, but otherwise, with the exception of the wild uplands of Arcadia and Doris, they seem to have been always very nearly as desolate as they are at present. Between one plain and another Pausanias has found almost as little to record as would a traveller of modern times⁶. With these broad and rugged, as well as lofty walls, separating the nearest neighbours from each other, we can well conceive how the infant states would grow up in perfect isolation, especially in cases where they owed their origin to Eastern colonists, who would plant them as near the shore on which they landed as was consistent with safety from the pirates who then infested the Grecian seas. Each of these states thus secluded between the mountains and the sea, would, with the rapid development which seems one of the peculiarities of the Hellenic race, attain its full growth, and form its character, before any external influence could have reached it; and the moral barriers erected in the peculiarities of tastes and customs thus acquired, would be as impassable in the later, as the physical barrier had been in the earlier stages of its existence. Accordingly, every idea and institution would take its shape and colour from the atmosphere immediately surrounding it; the tendency to draw from native resources would be doubly encouraged; and whereas in modern times rarity has generally been made the symbol of honour and value, in Greece every thing seems to have been precious in proportion as it was of home-growth. It was the bay-tree of Delphi—the olive of Attica—the light green pine-tree of the Isthmus—the oleaster of Olympia—which in the eyes of these respective states was most revered and cherished.

⁶ This may account for a fact to which allusion will be made again; viz. — that whilst the names of towns have mostly survived, those of the mountains have utterly perished. A brief but excellent

sketch of the peculiar features of the plains and rivers of Greece may be found in Dr. Forchhammer's paper on the plain of Troy, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. xii. p. 28.

The sentiment of Aristotle, πάντα ὥς κάλλιστα πέφυκεν, found an echo in every Greek heart: whatever nature dictated, even in a whisper, that they instantly heard and obeyed; whatever she seemed to forbid, that they looked upon with horror. To triumph over natural obstacles was to them not praiseworthy, but the reverse. Nero, in exact accordance with that spirit of the Roman empire, of which he was the exaggerated representative, would have cut through the Isthmus; but the Greeks saw in it only a daring effort of impiety, deservedly frustrated by signs of Divine wrath. Near neighbours as were the Athenians to the Boeotians, yet the guardian goddess of Attica (according to the well-known legend) threw away in disgust the musical pipe, whose use was in fact almost peculiar to the Boeotian marshes, of which the most pleasing characteristic still consists in the graceful stems and silvery tufts of the waving sea of reeds that first suggested the thought. Unexhausted and easy of access as were the Pentelic quarries, and familiar as every Greek must have been with the magnificent purposes to which their materials were turned in the buildings of Athens, yet, with a few exceptions, the temples in the rest of Greece seem to have been built of the rough stone of the immediate neighbourhood. Corinth, the chief, if not the sole commercial state of Greece, became so, not like Venice, by her own spirit in spite of her natural disadvantages, but by her central and maritime position in spite of herself. Boeotia yielded without a struggle to the stupifying and enervating influence of the fogs of her marshes and the fertility of her soil. Sparta at once moulded her institutions into conformity with the rugged hills among which she was placed: Σπάρταν ἔλαχες ταύταν κόσμει was the advice which the circle of enclosing mountains must have instilled into the legislator's mind—a fortress, and nothing more she was by nature—a fortress, and nothing more, she was therefore to be rendered by man. Lastly, Attica, as we said, was most emphatically entitled to the glory of a local and indigenous character. It is impossible, after leaving any of the adjacent provinces of Greece, to stand at the mouth of any of the mountain-passes which command a view of the plain of Athens, and not be struck by the contrast of the luxuriant vegetation which

we have left behind, with the naked hills and barren plain which we see before us, relieved only by the long stream of olives stretching down from Parnes to the sea. There we see the sterility by which Thucydides accounted for its early security and rapid civilization—there we see the Saronic gulf, with its islands, tempting it to maritime conquest⁷.

Hence arose two of the most singular phases of Greek History, each without a parallel.

In no other country have so many states existed without a federal union, or so vast a variety of character been developed within such narrow limits.

What is true of the absence of internal communication in Greece by reason of its mountains, is true of the absence of external communication by reason of its sea. It is impossible to conceive a continental country more completely insular in its position than Greece. The girdle of islands which surround it—the deep inlets with which its coast is indented in all directions—the almost impassable barrier which the wild population of the Albanian hills have in all ages opposed to access from the mainland of Europe in the interior—have made it a complete type of maritime geography. From the earliest times it was looked upon by the East as the “Isles of the Sea;” and in later times the names of “Isthmus” and “Archipelago,” originally peculiar to Corinth and the Ægean sea, have become generic names in every part of the habitable globe. This watery barrier—whilst it certainly acted in the first instance as the means of conveying to the shores of Greece the more enterprising adventurers from without, and gave a vent to its own energies

⁷ What is true of Attica generally is also true of its subdivisions. The view from the top of Hymettus or Pentelicus at once discloses the character of those factions, whose names in themselves may seem to savour of confusion. The *Peckai* are evidently the occupants of the two flat plains of Athens and Eleusis—the only two plains, in the strict sense of the word (with the exception of the little plain of Marathon), which exist in Attica. *Paralia*, the long strip of land

along the south-eastern coast, is flat, but so straitly pressed between Hymettus and the sea as to be little more than a broad beach. *Mesogæa* (which retains its name) is the low table-land enclosed within the ranges of Pentelicus, Hymettus, and the long line of hills which run nearly from Marathon to Sunium, and is thus almost cut off from the sea; the *Diacrii* were the rough inhabitants of the low connecting highlands which unite Parnes with Pentelicus.

when they were sufficiently developed from within—yet must have contributed to the independent growth of the seed once received, at an era when navigation was dreaded rather than welcomed as a channel of communication.

If the study of Greek topography tends to fix in our minds the nature of the limits of Greece, it also tends, more powerfully than any thing else, to prevent our transferring to Greek history the notions derived from the vast dominion and colossal power of modern or even of Roman times. The impression of the small size of Greek states, to any one who measures human affairs by a standard not of physical but of moral grandeur, will be the very opposite to a feeling of contempt. No Hindoo notions of greatness, as derived from mere magnitude, can find any place in the mind of one who has fully realized to himself the fact, that within the limits of a two days' journey lie the vestiges of four such cities as Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, and Athens; and that the scanty stream of the Ilissus, the puny mountains of Parnassus and Cithæron, have attained a fame which the Mississippi and the Himalayas can never hope to equal. We thus learn also fully to appreciate the difficulty which the Greek philosophers had in conceiving the idea of national unity in a state consisting of more than 10,000 citizens. We thus realize the vast importance which each individual must have possessed in influencing the fortunes of the commonwealth, the suspicion which must have been entertained against every one who held aloof from public affairs, the success and rapidity with which a revolution might be effected by means of a single confiscation or massacre.

In this point of view it may be worth while to notice two confusions which a knowledge or a sight of the localities themselves effectually obviates, viz. the application of our modern notions to the navigation or the fortifications of ancient history. With regard to the first, it cannot be too often impressed upon the student of Greek geography, that, with the exception of the Alpheus, there is, we believe, no river in Greece proper which admits of navigation even in boats. What is true of the Ilissus, is true, more or less, of all, that they are mere torrents, full after heavy rains, but throughout the greater part of the year ford-

able, and in summer many of them perfectly dry. They are, it has been truly observed by Dr. Ulrichs, *πόταμοι*, giving opportunity to drink, and no more. The names of "flumen" or "fluvius" are as little appropriate to them, as the ships which Statius introduces on the Ismenus. Under the same head may be considered the small dimensions of their harbours, which are well described by Dr. Arnold in his notes to *Thucydides*, viii. 96, when he compares them to the little basins in creeks of the Swiss and Italian lakes. Sometimes, as in the case of Syracuse and Pylus, if the bay of Navarino be indeed the harbour of Pylus, the modern and ancient notions would correspond; but the fact, that even in its earlier times Athens could have been satisfied with the little oval creeks of Phalerum and Munychia, is enough to indicate the vast difference between Greek and English navigation.

The aspect of the Greek citadels reminds us no less forcibly that their original destination was not so much military, as social and religious—that their character was not that of a fortress for the accommodation of garrisons only, but in early times the seat of the infant city, and in all times the home of the ancestral gods of the people. Mitford's forgetfulness of this distinction⁸ naturally led him to the erroneous conclusion, that Epipolæ, as a higher point than Ortygia, must therefore have been the citadel of Syracuse, and that therefore Dionysius, as fixing his habitation in the latter, could not really have been a tyrant. In like manner, it is with difficulty that a traveller visiting Greece for the first time, can be persuaded (of what is undoubtedly the fact) that the long undulating promontory, south of the present town of Corfu, and not the two pointed peaks of the modern citadel, formed the old Acropolis of Corcyra; and the same notion would lead him to believe, were the existing ruins destroyed, that the towering height of Lycabettus, and not the little square rock which nestles at its foot, was the Acropolis of Athens, did he not remember (what every hour of increased familiarity with the scene would of itself teach him) that it was according to the express statement of *Thucydides*, (ii. 15), not only the citadel, but the original *Παλις*⁹ itself.

⁸ As shewn in Arnold's *History of Rome*, i. 462, 466.

⁹ If we can carry back our thoughts into Roman antiquity, to the time when

So at Plataea, Thebes, Mycenæ, Patræ, and Marathon, (supposing the last-named place to have been at Branà,) the ancient Acropolis is on a low eminence, at the foot of a higher overhanging hill; and though in the case of Chæronea, Thoricus, Argos, and Corinth, the greater elevation of the sites produces a greater coincidence of the ancient with the modern notion, yet even here, the Acrocorinthus, which, from its height and strength, seems to form the most remarkable exception to the general character of ancient citadels, is, notwithstanding, so completely commanded by a neighbouring height as to be of little value for the purposes of modern warfare¹⁰; and at Chæronea, Thoricus, and Argos, we are met by the same unwarlike and primitive peculiarity which is presented to us at Athens—the excavation of the rocky sides of the Acropolis into the seats of the theatre.

The last remark suggests another general rule to be drawn from an enlarged acquaintance with Greek topography. This position for the Greek theatres may have been partly fixed by its solemnity, as placing their chief assemblies under the shadow of the ancestral gods of the country, partly also—and this remark applies especially to the theatres in Sicily and Italy, all of Greek construction—from the extensive prospect which they would thus command. Niebuhr (Vol. III. p. 311. note 531, p. 439) has, with his usual insight into the feeling of ancient states, caught this general characteristic of Greek theatres—to which he adds another—viz. that if possible, they overlooked the sea. He gives as instances, those of Fæsulæ, Tusculum, and Tarentum. To these might be added Tauromenium and Syracuse, (where, however, the hill, on whose slope the theatre is situated, is in neither case the citadel). Eggesta, Athens, and Argos, are also examples of the theatre being turned to the sea; but in the two last cases it could not have been otherwise if it was on the citadel-hill at all, because the only other alternative was the dark northern side, which, at Athens especially, was so strictly regarded by the popular superstition as inapplicable to religious or public uses. From the

as yet the Capitoline was unoccupied by its Sabine settlement, we shall be struck by the analogous habitation of the original people of Romulus on the square

low hill of the Palatine, almost overhung by the Tarpeian rock rising over against it.

¹⁰ See Thirlwall's *Greece*, I, 21.

recent plan of Xanthus, given by Mr. Fellowes, it appears that there also the theatre is on the side of the Acropolis.

If we descend into detail, it is of course the primitive rather than the later history of Greece, which topography most especially illustrates: for, in fact, the destruction of buildings has left the natural features of the country far more in their original state, than could have been the case in the time of the greatest glory of Greece. We do not, indeed, see the hills of Athens as Plato imagines them once to have been, united in one rocky range, extending from Lycabettus to the Pnyx; but we see them much more clearly than he could have seen them as they would have appeared immediately after their supposed separation: the rocks and caves of the Acropolis must now be much nearer to their natural abruptness and simplicity, than when they were thickly set with temples and houses. At Rome it is difficult to detect under the buildings of the modern Capitol, and the ruins of the imperial palace, the hostile stations of the Sabines and Romans on the Capitoline and Palatine¹¹; but at Athens, the long craggy protuberance of the Areopagus, crawling, like a huge monster, towards the front of the Acropolis, immediately reminds us of the ancient legend, which represented it as the position taken up by the Amazons against the fortress of Theseus, and of the early dawn of Athenian history, when it was turned to the same use by the Persians. The story of the Pelasgic settlement under the north side of the Acropolis inevitably rises before us, when we see the black shade always falling upon it, as over an accursed spot, in contrast with the bright gleam of sunshine which always seems to invest the Acropolis itself; and we can imagine how naturally the gloom of the steep precipice would conspire with the remem-

¹¹ The word *arx* does not seem to have been so closely limited in Latin, as ἀκρό-πολις in Greek, to the original seat of the city. "There is no English word which answers to *arx* or ἀκρᾶ. The one as well as the other signifies a height within the ring-walls very difficult of access; but this height was never in earlier times, in later very seldom, closed by a wall against the city. The same city may have several

such. So it was at Rome; and the line of the Roman poet, 'Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces,' (*Georg.* II. 535) is written with great propriety." (Niebuhr, Vol. III. note 411.) So at Athens, the Areopagus was an *arx* as well as the Acropolis. So again at Jerusalem, the hill opposite the temple and citadel hills was expressly called by the Greeks ἀκρᾶ.

brance of an accursed and hateful race, to make the Athenians dread the spot¹². And if we follow the story of Herodotus, when he describes the same race dwelling on Hymettus, and falling upon the Athenian women as they came to draw water from Enneacrounos, (Herodotus, vi. 137), there, also, the wild slopes of the mountain, with its deep ravines, up to the present day the favourite haunt of robbers, descending at once upon the stream of the Ilissus, present the exact image we should expect of the refuge of the aboriginal inhabitants, hovering on the outskirts of their ancient homes.

But though the natural localities may more fully illustrate the earlier history of Greece, yet the actual remains are enough to throw considerable light on the more recent period of the acme of her fame. Here, again, the contrast with the relics of Roman antiquity is decidedly in favour of Greece. Of the Roman monarchy and republic, the only extant memorial undoubtedly connected with any actual *event* is the carving on the Insula Tiberina of the ship-head with the Æsculapian serpent. Whatever other remnants there may be of the more primitive times of Rome, are interesting chiefly from their antiquity; whatever more complete specimens of Roman architecture exist, belong to the comparatively uninteresting period of the empire. But in Greece, the existing vestiges of her most remarkable times are exactly those which we should most have cared to see. Not to mention¹³ the fact, that it is Athens, which, though so exposed to plunder by its open position, and the fatal facility of maritime exportation, has been left most untouched, and that of the Athenian buildings those are still most perfect which were the chief glory of her most glorious age—the Theseum, and the Parthenon with its accompaniments,—how remarkable it is to consider the number of com-

¹² The north side of a churchyard is of course familiar to Englishmen, and this perhaps is the meaning of the cave, "*conversa ad aquilonem*," down which Pluto carried Proserpine (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 48.).

¹³ We really cannot wonder that a heathen should have seen something providential in the remarkable preservation of the city of Athens amidst the general ruin of Greece; once in the earthquake

under Valens, and again when Alaric was believed to have been deterred by the appearance of Minerva Promachus stalking round the walls, and of Achilles standing before them. ὁ μὲν Ἀλαρίχος ἦν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐμελλε δὲ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαιότης καὶ ἐν θυτῷ δυσσεβέσει κακοῖς θεῖαν τινα πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ μένεν ἀπόρρητός.—(Zosimus, v. 5. p. 391.)

paratively minute objects of the deepest interest which are still preserved! On the plain of Marathon is still to be seen the tumulus raised by Aristides over the bodies of the 292 Athenians, who died upon the spot, and (although not with equal certainty) the remains of the trophy of Miltiades which would not suffer Themistocles to sleep. At Chæronea is the colossal lion, broken indeed, but in its parts perfect, which was erected over the Thebans who fell at "that dishonest victory." In the Acropolis we can trace the ruts of wheels worn by the Panathenaic procession between the columns of the Propylæa, the impressions left on the eastern face of the Parthenon by the round shields there dedicated to Minerva, and (what is perhaps the most lively remembrancer of past times existing in the world) the fragments of twelve Doric pillars embedded in the northern wall of the Acropolis, evident remains of the old Hecatompædon, destroyed by the Persians, and thus standing memorials of the well-known haste with which Themistocles is said to have repaired the fortifications, and of the triumphant recovery of Athens from her all but total extirpation. The Areopagus not only presents to us the primitive counter-work of the Amazons, and the deep rent in the rocks into whose gloomy recess the Furies descended after their defeat by the rival goddess of the Acropolis, and Œdipus vanished from the eyes of Theseus, but it furnishes also the most interesting traces that could be furnished of its later uses—the rude stone seats on which the judges sate in the open air—the rock-hewn steps up which St. Paul must have been led when he was brought from the agora below.

So again the seats of the Dionysiac Theatre are fixed on the southern slope of the Acropolis, not merely by their almost indisputable coincidence with the tiers of steps still discernible in the rocky sides of the hill, but by the singular accident of all its local features being preserved in a coin, published in the frontispiece of Col. Leake's *Athens*, and serving to identify the site beyond the possibility of doubt; and the Pnyx is so well defined in all its parts by the rocky semicircle of the audience, and the stone Bema¹⁴ of the orator, that we can only wonder at the perverse ingenuity

¹⁴ It is with reluctance that we abandon the pleasing theory of Dr. Wordsworth, | who saw in the mutilated stone substruction on the level immediately above the semi-

which induced Spon to identify it with the Areopagus, Wheler with the Odeum of Pericles, and Stuart with the Theatre of Regilla. In these two monuments therefore we have the very seats which were occupied by the Athenian people on the two great occasions at which they appeared in their collective capacity; and it is needless to observe what has been often pointed out, the additional liveliness we gain in our conceptions, both of the theatrical and political assemblies of Greece, by knowing the exact view which was present to the Athenian spectators, as from their lofty theatre they overlooked the Saronic gulf, or to an Athenian orator, as he stood on the Bema, in front of the Propylæa of the Acropolis.

But it is the general view of Athens itself which even more than any particular spot in it, however interesting, throws one back into the spirit of the times, when her citizens loved her, as we are told, with the passionate love which nothing short of her surpassing beauty could inspire (τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωρούμενους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς. Thucyd. II. 43). It is a remarkable testimony to the singular appropriateness of the scene to the ideas which it represents, that it would be impossible for any one to describe the view from the summit of Hymettus more truly than in the words in which Milton has set forth his conception of Athens, not from ocular inspection, but such as from the union of deep classical learning with his poetical faculty he imagined it to have appeared in the vision from the "specular mount," in the *Paradise Regained*. Such as it would have been then,

semicircle of the Pnyx traces of the Bema of Themistocles looking to the sea, which the Thirty are said by Plutarch to have removed, or, as Dr. Wordsworth interprets the words, destroyed.—But the difficulties which must always have been objected to this hypothesis, from the small area in front of this upper Bema, and from the evident antiquity of what on Dr. Wordsworth's theory must have been the more recent Bema, become insuperable, when we remember the fact pointed out to us first by Professor Ross, and noticed, though without reference to this particular point by Col. Leake, (2nd.

ed. i. 182.) viz. that the city wall can be proved by existing traces to have passed so immediately behind the hill of the Pnyx as always to have excluded the view of the sea, which the supposed Upper Bema would otherwise have commanded. What therefore is the explanation of the story in Plutarch yet remains to be determined, unless we adopt the ingenious conjecture that it arose from the transference of the assemblies from the Dionysiac theatre, which looks out on the sea, to the Pnyx. Col. Leake has also failed to notice the mutilated structure, which was indeed first pointed out by Dr. Wordsworth.

and such as it met the view of Socrates and Demosthenes—such in its general outline it is still. Diminutive as is the rock of the Acropolis, yet there is something in the queen-like stateliness of its form, in the perpetual brightness of its sunlit crown of temples, in the central position which it holds amidst the sweep of surrounding hills, that stamps it at once as the “eye of Greece,” as the point to which all the other features of the landscape, the many-coloured plain, on whose “light soil” it stands, the “pure air” of the transparent atmosphere which encompasses it, the glittering wall of the Ægean sea, which seems to rise behind it, and the graceful outline of the distant mountains of Argolis which form the girdle of its horizon—converge as towards their common centre.

What has been said of the reality given to the *earlier* history of Greece by the topography of Attica, is still more true of the topography of Argolis. The only vestige of comparatively advanced history which the plain of Argos exhibits, is indeed one of deep interest; and remarkable, as being one of the latest and least known of recent discoveries. It is we believe about ten years ago since General Gordon first stumbled upon the remains of the famous temple of the Argive Hera, which even Col. Leake had constantly missed, and which had been always overlooked by travellers, because they imagined that the τὰ Ἑλληνικά to which the peasants pointed were the remains of Mycenæ, lying much in the same direction. Yet there upon the slope of the hills, as described by Herodotus and Pausanias, he found the Cyclopean substructions of the earlier temple, which was burnt down in the Peloponnesian war by the carelessness of the priestess Chryseis, and the more recent foundations of the second temple on a terrace immediately below it, with the irresistible evidence of two marble peacock-tails in its gateway. Ancient as these ruins are, they are yet the most modern in the neighbourhood. In the plain of Argos we feel that we are in the region not of historical, but of mythological and poetical Greece. The rapid succession of rocky insulated eminences along the level pasture bring at once to our minds the age in which kings were chieftains, and cities were fortresses; the lofty citadel of Nauplia retaining in its name of Palamedia an unbroken tradition, not otherwise known even from ancient writers, of its unfortunate founder—the Larissa of Argos, with

the rough dry bed of the Charadrus at its foot, in which the Argive people met in solemn assembly to stone their unworthy generals—the low oblong rock of Tiryns, whose enormous Cyclopean walls are probably the only works of man recorded by Homer which are yet in existence. And greatest of all, Mycenæ, on which it may be as well to dwell more at length, as no account that we have seen does justice to its remarkable character.

At the very extremity of the plain of Argos (*μῦχος*)—as if Perseus had drawn back from the home of his murdered grandfather into the uttermost recess that he could find, without abandoning his hold over the level tract which lay beneath him, with its Cyclopean fortresses, and its glittering bay in the distance—stands the low eminence, where he is said to have called forth, by the *μύκης* of his sword, the streams which on each side creep round the hill, as well as that which supplies the well on the top. Round this rocky knoll are the vestiges of his city; in its face is fixed the ancient gateway, with its coping-stone of green basalt, and its sculptured lionesses, the gateway where the oldest kings of Greece sate to administer justice, a memorial of the antiquity not only of Greece, but of the world, of ages not only classical, but primeval, mythological, aboriginal. Close above and behind this eminence rises a black, frowning hill, with its dark sterile precipices filling up the idea of perfect desolation—of the ancient curse of the Pelopidæ brooding over the place. Such is the spot which was chosen for the central stage of Greek tragedy. The impression which the whole scene leaves on the mind is indeed precisely that which is left by the closing dialogue between Clytemnæstra and the Chorus in the Agamemnon of Æschylus. And when we remember that such as are the actual vestiges of Mycenæ now, such nearly they were in the days of Pausanias, and such probably, with but few additions, they were in the days of the Tragedians, we can have but little doubt that the imagery which floated before them still remains to be judged of by us; that the gate of the “*sæva Pelopis domus*,” in front of which all the plots of the Orestean trilogies unfold themselves,—the tomb which Electra visited with libations,—are that very same ancient gateway which we have described as meeting us in the walls of the citadel-hill

—and that very same remarkable vault hardly a stone's throw distant from it in the adjacent valley, whose massy structure equally carries us back to the Tragedians; whether under the name of the Treasury of Atreus, we are referred generally to the idea of the “rich Mycenæ” (πολύχρυσοι, ἀρχαῖοπλουτος, dities), or whether we adopt what seems their own account of it, by calling it the Tomb of Agamemnon.

The topography of a country throws a remarkable light not only on the events of which it was the scene, but on the mind of those who inhabited it. We may agree with men or nations in opinions—we may sympathise with them in questions of practice—but we cannot become familiar with them, unless we know how far they look with pleasure or indifference on the images which affect ourselves. Now, this knowledge is exactly what the natural scenery of Greece furnishes in a remarkable degree. The institutions, the amusements, the religion of the ancient Greeks, are known to us only as reflected in the mirror of their writings: it must be by a distinct effort of the imagination that we can conceive them independently of the light in which they appeared to their cotemporaries. But in the outward features of their country we have the original objects as well as the reflection, we are able actually to compare the one with the other, and to observe what parts of the real image the mirror has received, and what it has repelled; to compare the effect produced upon them with the effect produced upon ourselves, and to examine into the causes of the different impression received in the two cases. The most direct traces of this effect are naturally to be looked for in their poetry.

Now, that the scenery of Greece is in itself eminently poetical—that it is in fact poetical rather than strictly beautiful—that its charm consists in the striking character of its several features, in the almost dramatic propriety with which each feature tells upon the whole landscape, rather than in the romantic shapes and “riotous prodigality” of life in Italian scenery—no one who has seen it can doubt. And it may be considered as an indirect proof of this, that some of the truest and happiest touches of its main characteristics are to be found in English poets, Gray, Wordsworth, and especially Milton, who

never saw them, but whose insight into them was great in proportion to his appreciation of the Greek poets, and to the development of a kindred faculty in his own mind. And it is further certain, that the mind of the Greek nation was not merely in itself poetical, but that it was also thoroughly impregnated with the general spirit of the scenery, in the midst of which it was formed. As a particular instance of it may be mentioned the singular appropriateness of Mycenæ to the Oresteian tragedy, as before described; and it is almost impossible, except in the language of the Greek poets, to do justice to the surpassing clearness and gorgeousness of the *atmosphere* of Athens, to which they seem to have been so thoroughly awake. ὦ δέσποτ' ἀναξ, ἀμέτρητ' αἶψα ὅς ἔχεις τὴν γῆν μετέωρον, (Aristoph. *Nub.* 265), ὄμμα αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγείται μαρμαρέαις ἐν αὐγαῖς (285.), αἰθέρα σεμνότατον (ib. 560.), χρυσαυγὴ δόμῳ . . . τηλαυγὲς ἀκτίνων σέλας (*Av.* 1709, 1710), διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος (Eurip. *Med.* 829). These, and many other passages which might be quoted (see in Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, 240, 241), hyperbolic as some of them may sound to western ears, are only just representations of the transparent clearness, the brilliant colouring of an Athenian sky; of the flood of fire with which the marble columns, the mountains, and the sea, are all bathed and penetrated by the illumination of an Athenian sunset¹⁵.

But if Greek scenery is a standing witness to us of the readiness with which the Greeks caught its general spirit, it is no less a witness to us of the indifference with which they regarded its details, of their complete sacrifice of all particular facts to the leading idea which they wished to represent.

Homer, it is true, forms an exception; his epithets still designate accurately the character of the places to which they are affixed. Whether Mistra (Leake's *Morea* III. 6), or Mezapo (ib. I. 287) be the Messa of the *Iliad*, the number of wild pigeons in the rocks justifies the appellation of πολυτρήρων, three

¹⁵ Is it fanciful to find in the delight with which the Athenians dwelt on the constant sunshine of the Acropolis, the origin of the frequent epithet λιπαρά Ἀθήναι—or in the violet hue which with-

out exaggeration the evening sheds upon its encircling crown of mountains, not indeed the origin, but an additional reason for the application of that other epithet ἰοστέφανοι?

thousand years have not destroyed the truth of *Τίρυνθα ρειχιόεσσα*; the windmills in the plain of Argos indicate at this day the thirsty character of the soil (*πολυδίψιον*), which Strabo was superficial enough to doubt. And the Roman poets contain strokes of description as true as can be found in any literature. When indeed they speak without personal knowledge of the places they describe, nothing can be more extravagant than their mistakes, of which Col. Leake (*Morea*, III. 399. *Athens*, 1st ed. 71) has given instances; but it would be unfair from this to argue that they are equally inaccurate where they have been eye-witnesses. Even without speaking of the wonderful touches of description in Italian scenery;—such as the concentration of the whole image of the sponge-like rock of Tivoli, with its hundred waterfalls, into the “*udum* Tibur” of Horace; or the peculiar wildness not only of the sea-like surge, but also of the sea-like shores of Garda, which Virgil has so admirably caught in the *Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino*—no Greek epithet was ever so happily applied as the “*purpureos colles Hymetti*”¹⁶ of Ovid, to the violet hue which Hymettus assumes in the evening sky, in contrast to the glowing furnace of the rock of Lycabettus, and the rosy pyramid of Pentelicus.

The poets of the great age of Greek literature in this respect faithfully reflected the genius of their country. The declaration of Socrates, that “it was from men in the city, and not from grassy slopes and shady trees on the banks of the Ilissus, that he could learn true wisdom” (*Phædrus*, 10), is more or less applicable to the whole Greek view of natural objects. The actual sight of Grecian scenery at once shows how entirely they looked at it through the medium of their own imaginations, how they carried into their descriptions of nature the same spirit which dictated their descriptions of man, indifferent always to actual portraitures, aiming always at ideal pictures.

¹⁶ Ovid. *Art. Amat.* III. 389. The whole passage is given in Leake's *Athens*, 2nd ed. II. 10, with a commendation of its accuracy.—Dr. Wordsworth (p. 107) points out the fidelity with which Catul-

lus has described the site of the Temple of Victory, in contrast with other Latin poets, who were misled by ignorance of the scene.

1. The utter confusion of the situations of Argos and Mycenæ in the Tragedians has often been noticed—a confusion the more remarkable when contrasted with the fidelity with which they possess all that is essential to the real interest of the drama in the localities of Mycenæ; and when it is considered how palpable the confusion must have been to Greeks, who might all have visited the places in question, and have known that one was situated five miles from the other—one a flourishing city, the other in total desolation.

2. In the actual vestiges of Colonos there is much indeed to interest a reader of Sophocles. The two small hills, standing on the outskirts of the long forest of olives, where a traveller from Thebes would first emerge to the view of the towers of Athens (*Æd. Col.* 13)—their rocky projections, connecting them with the group of hills which form the *ἔρεισμι' Ἀθηνῶν* (*Æd. Col.* 51)—the prospect of the level plain (*εὐπίπτον*), and the bright sea beyond (*εὐθάλασσον*, *Æd. Col.* 667)—the luxuriant creepers which hang over the walls of the adjacent vineyards (*ib.* 670—680)—the glades of ancient olive-trees, interspersed with vines and shrubs of oleander (*δάφνης, εἰλαίας, ἀμπέλου*) (*ib.* 18)—the rivulets of the Cephissus which irrigate the gardens and the olive-grove (*ib.* 185)—all exactly coincide with the poetical description. Yet, even here it is obvious that other reasons than a mere love of natural scenery have conspired to produce it; that it is the result, partly of the poet's affection for his birth-place, partly of the natural prominence which such a spot would assume in the eyes of an Athenian, to whom, accustomed only to the barren plain and waterless rocks of the rest of Attica, Colonos would seem, by contrast, a spot of unusually luxuriant vegetation, and the Cephissus a noble and beneficent stream. And in the progress of the drama all the details of topography, when compared with the actual localities, vanish as completely as in the case of Argos and Mycenæ. Dr. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, p. 238) has well shown how in his wish to reconcile the tradition of *Œdipus'* burial at his own birth-place, Colonos, with the more national and authorized version which placed his tomb in the sanctuary of the Eumenides under the Areopagus, Sophocles has veiled the whole of the closing scene in studied obscurity. The

course of the narration itself would lead us to place the scene of his disappearance at Colonos. But an acquaintance with the real topography shows us, and must have shown the Athenians, that all the features of this scene are taken not from Colonos, but from the hill of the Areopagus. It is there, and there only, that we can find the deep chasm in the rocks (*κόλπου κρατήρος*), (*Œd. Col.* 1595), near the meeting-place of Pirithous and Theseus, and the hill of Demeter Euchloe; in other words, the Theseum and the Acropolis.

3. A similar instance of the influence exercised by the imagination on their selection of external imagery is to be found in Dr. Wordsworth's ingenious explanation of the preference given in the tragic poets to the Boeotian and Argolic mountains, Munychia and Phalerum, and the Cephissus, over the Athenian hills, the Piræus and the Ilissus; from the former not being, like the latter, associated with the business of daily life (*Athens and Attica*, c. 21).

4. The same tendency also appears in more ordinary matters connected with topography; for example, in the fanciful rules by which the ancient names are so often applied to real places. It is well known, for example, that there are in fact two Parnassuses; one, the real geological Parnassus, with only one summit, and not visible from Delphi at all; the other, the poetical Parnassus, which is at the foot of the real one, and whose two peaks consist in the two huge crags which immediately overhang Delphi. So also there seem to be two Castalian springs; one, the real natural original spring, which rises high among the uplands of the real Parnassus, and from thence descends to the cleft between the two crags, over which in the winter it falls in a cascade. But in summer this, like most other streams in Greece, is dried up, and for the greater part of the year it works its way secretly¹⁷ from above, until it appears again at the *foot* of the cleft under the rocks in a perennial spring, which is the poetical Castalia, appropriating to itself

¹⁷ This disappearance and reappearance of streams is as is well known very common in Greece—and led to the fables

of the Inachus and the Alpheus.—At Athens a similar confusion has arisen about the spring Callirhoe or Enneacrounos,

the honour of its real parent, in the same way as the two crags have usurped the honour of the whole historical and geological Parnassus. In other words, the only Parnassus and the only Castalian spring of which the Greeks chose to know any thing, were those crags and that spring which were always connected with the holiest associations of the whole Greek race, when they recalled to their minds the solemn scene of the Delphic oracle; disregarding altogether the mountain and the spring with which none but shepherds or accidental travellers could be familiar. In the same spirit, the fanciful or mythological names which they affixed had reference to the places, not as they were in themselves, but as they *appeared* to those who passed along whatever road in ancient times was the chief approach to them. Thus, the ridge of mountains which overhangs Mycenæ, though it has really *five* peaks, was said to have resulted from the petrification of *three* nymphs—because (as it would seem) in the point of view in which it would be seen by the pilgrims who came to worship at the great temple of the Argive Hera, the five peaks are so grouped together as to appear to be *three*.

But the most striking instance of the action and re-action which existed between the scenery and the imagination of Greece, is to be found in its mythology. In this respect, the difference is, of course, immense between a local and an universal religion. The merest fancies of a national belief will be far more deeply interwoven with the outward features of the country with which they are associated, than can possibly be the case with the realities of an universal faith¹⁸. To have seen Puteoli or Malta may be satisfactory, as giving us a lively image of the scenes of St. Paul's his-

crounos, which name seems to have been sometimes given to the perennial vein of water which creeps under the dry bed of the Ilissus, sometimes to the passage of the main stream of the Ilissus, when swollen by rain it falls in a cascade over these rocks, just as the Castalian stream in like circumstances falls over the cleft at whose foot is the famous spring.—For the somewhat contradictory statements respecting Callirhoe, of which the above seems the best explanation, see Leake's *Athens*, 2nd edit. i. p. 175. Words-

worth's *Athens and Attica*, p. 161.

¹⁸ Dr. Robinson, in his valuable *Researches in Palestine*, has frequent occasion to make a remark of the same character on the ease of identifying the localities of the Old Testament compared with the difficulty of identifying those of the New Testament. In the former the local character of the religion invested places with its own importance—in the latter, its universal character, by the very fact of its importance, threw all local considerations into the shade.

tory; but between the scenes and the events we feel that the connexion is accidental only, not necessary or real. But to have seen Greece is to have been let into the secret of the rise and growth of the Pagan worship itself; and forces upon one the irresistible conclusion, not indeed that natural objects in themselves originated, but that they had a most important influence in determining, the character of the national mythology. It is but the natural result of this, that one of the most graphic descriptions of Greek scenery, which we ever remember to have seen, is to be found in a German work, which carries the theory of this connexion to an extravagant extent—Forchhammer's *Hellenica*; and it is not till after a visit to Greece, that we can fully enter into the truth and beauty of Wordsworth's celebrated lines, which

place before our thoughts
The face which rural solitude might wear
To the unlightened swains of Pagan Greece.

It will suffice to touch on one feature of the case by way of illustration, viz. the character of the religious sanctuaries or *ἄλση*,—so often but so inadequately translated in English by the word “grove.” And here, again, it may be worth while to observe, that the return of these places almost to their primeval desolation, supplies us with a better criterion of the original connexion between their outward aspect and their local worship, than would have been possessed by a Greek or Roman, living at a time when their natural features were hardly discernible through the temples and theatres with which centuries of devotion had overlaid them. All have the same common character of a natural *τέμενος*, a retired bason in the bosom of the mountains, interspersed, but never overgrown, with trees¹⁹, the guardian city²⁰ wherever it possessed one,

¹⁹ See Leake's *Morea*, i. 35.

²⁰ Thus Epidaurus stood at the end of the long defile by which the sanctuary of *Æsculapius* is approached—Lebadea at the mouth of the valley in which stands the modern town of that name, on the site of the Trophonium—Crissa at the entrance of the bason of Delphi.

In a fragment of *Æschylus* there occurs the expression *Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος*.—Whether it applies to the whole plain is perhaps uncertain—but undoubtedly no word

could better describe that sacred battle field, and no spot could better illustrate the meaning of that word—the yellow plain lying like a focus of light, embraced between the huge green arms of Pentelicus inland, and the meeting circle of the Eubœan mountains which close it in from the sea, overlooked by its ancient citadel-hill at Branà, and the low tumulus of the fallen Athenians rising in the midst of it.

standing at the threshold or outlet into the profane external world. Yet they have each their distinctive marks. The spirit of peace and retirement which pervades the sanctuary of Esculapius, amongst the hills of Epidaurus, outweighed to the Greeks all the real disadvantages of its hot situation, and its want of medicinal waters, in fixing its title to be regarded as the seat of the healing god; the lonely plain of Nemea sunk as by magic into the heart of the wild upland boundaries of Argolis and Corinth, is no less suited to express the solemnity of the funeral games of Archemorus; Brauron, the seat of the worship of Artemis in Attica, cannot be more happily described than in the complaint, that now in its desolation—

From haunted spring and dale
Edg'd with poplar pale
The parting genius is with sighing sent;

Olympia—by its peculiar brightness and liveliness of form and colour, by its full majestic river, and by its low rampart of broken green wooded hills, distinct in character from the rest of Greece—is well fitted for the scene of the only festivity common to the whole Greek race; much in the same way, as it has been well observed, that England, separated by its insular position from the rest of Europe, is better fitted, in its history, to represent the natural tendencies of the common European mind, than any other country more directly mixed up with them. In Delphi and Lebadea no one can fail to be struck with the stern impressive features common to both: the bold cliffs, starting from the side of the hill—the water rushing from hidden sources through the deep cleft in the rocks,—both of which seem to have denoted earth speaking²¹ from her inmost heart in oracles. Delphi, in particular, illustrates the position laid down before—that the most interesting spots in Greece can be discovered without the possibility of doubt. Whatever is to be known about it hitherto may be seen in the work of Dr. Ulrichs upon Phocis, in which it occupies the most prominent

²¹ The same general character appears to pervade the scenery of the Styx; and here, as in the case of Epidaurus, only with a reverse consequence, the awe inspired by the whole scene, in direct con-

tradition to facts, originated the belief in the poisonous quality of its water, which still seems to linger on the spot. See Leake's *Morea*, III. 164.

place, though probably new light will be thrown upon it by the publication of the papers of K. O. Müller, whose last days were spent amongst its remains. If we put ourselves in the place of the Cretan adventurers who, according to the legend, first brought Apollo's worship to the spot, we cannot fail to be struck by the fitness of the place to be the central scene of Greek religion, as Mycenæ was to be the central scene of Greek tragedy. The sudden change of scenery, which strikes us the moment we turn from the bold hills of the Corinthian gulf into the fantastic rocks which incrust the shores of the bay of Crissa—the silent plain of Crissa, which must be traversed before we scale the rocky barrier which closes its northern end; the narrow pathway still worn by the ruts of chariot-wheels, over which hang sepulchral recesses in the rock; would raise expectations, which must have at once found their natural satisfaction in the singular scene which suddenly opens upon us in the basin of the Delphic valley. In the theatre-like slope which descends from the foot of the two venerable limestone cliffs, to the silver thread of the Plistus in the dark ravine below, presenting a character at once perfectly distinct from the open plain which we have just quitted, and from the savage desolation of the mountains which we see beyond, it would be most inviting for primitive wanderers, with their minds open to the first impressions of nature, to fix the home of their future worship. Of its subsequent appearance, when the whole basin was one mass of magnificent buildings, it is difficult to form a conception. There is no modern city or sanctuary that we have seen or heard of, that could exhibit such extreme splendour brought into so vivid a contrast with such extreme wildness and seclusion of outward scenery. And in the ancient world it must also have been unrivalled. How striking must have been the first burst of the view on those who beheld it for the first time, may be gathered from the graphic sketch of the repulse of the Persians, given by Bishop Thirlwall, in his *History of Greece*, (II. 293) in which we may perhaps be excused for observing, that the only expression which could by possibility jar with any impression derived from the sight of the place itself, is that of "crag above crag," which seems to imply a more elaborate character of scenery than is actually the case. Of all these splendid edifices not one column

is left standing. It is now as striking in its desolation as it must have been to those first pilgrims from its loneliness: and here also the words of Milton give an impression of it not more poetical than exact.

The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Rings through the arched roof with words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.

But the two cliffs of the overhanging steep, the clear stream which issues from the huge cleft that divides them, the terraces on which the ancient city stood—are marked with the most perfect clearness. From the substructions which still remain, the labours of Ulrichs and Müller seem to have fixed—what was for a long time a matter of doubt—the site of the great temple itself. The oracular chasm is indeed yet undiscovered; and the apparently conflicting accounts of ancient authors may, possibly, prevent us from attaining such certain results from future excavations as we should otherwise anticipate. It is worth noticing, however, as a singular coincidence, even if nothing more, that as on the margin of the Castalian spring there stands a plane-tree of great age, now only a trunk, but seen by Dodwell in full vigour and foliage—on the very spot where stood the plane, under which, according to the legend, Latona deposited her twins,—so the roots and trunk of a bay-tree were found by Dr. Ulrichs in the very place where his discoveries led him to fix the sanctuary of the temple, and where, therefore, the sacred bay-tree must have stood. It is not, of course, meant that these are the very trees of the oldest Grecian times; but when we consider the care with which the olive-tree of the Erechtheum, the oak-tree of Dodona, the agnuscastus at Samos, and the plane-tree at Caphyæ, (Paus. *Arcad.* c. 23), were continued for so many centuries, it is allowable to indulge a hope that trees so venerable, first from their associations, and then from their age, as these must always have been, may have been either preserved or propagated from generation to generation, by the almost unconscious attention of the inhabitants. Nor, in speaking of future discoveries to be made in this quarter, are we to forget that so remarkable an object, and one so easily identified when once

seen, as the Corycian cave was first made known by Mr. Raikes' *Remarks*, in 1817. In itself, indeed, it is an instructive scene; both historically and mythologically. For here, in the war of the Greek revolution, part of the population of Delphi found a shelter from the Turks, whilst part lay concealed among the crags immediately above the village; thus exactly repeating the history of their ancestors at the time of the Persian invasion. Here, also, we see the most remarkable existing specimen of the Greek worship of Pan and the nymphs. If any one doubted the influence which natural objects had exercised over Greek religion, no more convincing answer could be given than by the sight of the fantastic white rocks and grotesque fir-trees on the approach to the cave—the wild and lonely character of the hills in which it is situated—and the stalactite figures, which, when dimly seen in the gloom of its long recesses, could hardly fail to suggest to the active imagination of Greek shepherds the vision of the mountain-god with his attendant nymphs and satyrs.

And what is true of the Corycian cave, applies more or less to all the similar sanctuaries in Greece. We are so much accustomed to the notion of Grecian temples full of air and light, that it is not till after a study of the natural features of the country that we become aware of the extent of that more simple and primeval worship which peopled almost every cave with some deity, every stalactite cave with Pan and nymphs. Of the latter kind, besides the Corycian cave, may be mentioned the remarkable cave in Mount Hymettus, containing the most complete traces of rustic paganism that exists in the world (Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica*, p. 193)—the cave at Marathon described by Pausanias (*Attica*, 32), but whose site has not yet been fixed with certainty by modern travellers—the cave of Pan under the north side of the Acropolis, dedicated to him on the occasion of his warning voice being heard by the messenger who went to summon the aid of Sparta against the Persians, (see Wordsworth's *Athens*, p. 81)—and the cave, on the banks of the Ilissus, which serves to identify the exact spot of the scene of the Phædrus. And of the more general kind are the remaining caves of the Acropolis, those of Apollo, Agraulos, Dionysus, and the Eleusinium, which perforate its rocks almost like a honeycomb—and the deep chasm in the

craggy sides of the Areopagus, dedicated to the Furies and to Œdipus.

Whilst the intimate connexion of the Greeks with the scenery of their immediate homes, illustrates their internal history and mythology, so their imperfect knowledge of all beyond illustrates no less their notions of foreign countries, and of their own relations with them. In the great mountain-barriers which enclose the plain of Chæroneia, the traveller sees that he has reached the western boundary of civilized Greece: it is the last corner into which the real life of the Greek race penetrated—all beyond, westward and northward, was Greek indeed, but without the spirit of Greece. And in like manner it is a very just observation of Dr. Wordsworth, in the best part of his work on Greece, (p. 276) that the headland of Leucate formed from the earliest times the line of demarcation between historical Greece and the regions of mythology and barbarism. The white waves which dash against the extremity of the promontory remind us of the terror which the “*nautis formidatus Apollo*” of the Actian bay always inspired to the navigators of the ancient world; and we can well conceive how, before the Corinthian colonists had penetrated to the islands beyond, all the regions behind that point would be almost as vague and indistinct as that vast western ocean in which the poets of the middle ages placed their earthly paradise, before Columbus broke the spell for ever. We can fancy how they would fill them with the rich imagery of Phæacia—with the features of a peaceful harbour, of a ship-like rock, and a vision of beautiful woods and gardens, such as would be drawn from a hasty glance, caught by adventurous Greek sailors of the general beauty and some of the more prominent points of the scenery of Corfu. Even in later times the same boundary more or less remained. Leucate was always the barrier which cut off civilized Greece from the barbarian Epirots, as it at this hour separates modern Greece from Albania; and we know how even in the times of the Roman empire the fantastic and sterile rocks of Paxos were associated with that wild and striking legend, which we must again describe in the words of Milton—

The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament.

Sicily in like manner affords a remarkable instance of the erection of a fabric of geographical mythology on imperfect glimpses of a distant and singular country, much in the same way as the facts in the early period of national existence form the basis of historical mythology. But in the former case the unchanging features of nature give us the key to decipher the legends that have been built upon them, whereas in the latter case the substratum has disappeared from our view, and left our knowledge of the early history in a state analogous to what our knowledge of the real geography of Sicily would be had the island been swallowed up by the sea, and our whole information concerning it been drawn from the *Odyssey*. Those who had past through the straits of Messina would bring back a report of the violent eddies which disturb the whole passage, and of the steep cliff overhanging the eastern side; and these would become fixed in the Greek imagination under the form of a raging whirlpool and of a hideous monster. The same tendency which led them to see satyrs in stalactites, and nereids in streams, would inevitably discern in the volcanic phenomena, which form the great characteristic of the eastern shore of Sicily, a land of giants—whether according to the later legends they imagined them to be pent up within the sides of *Ætna*—or whether, according to the Homeric version of them, they imagined them running wild over the island—and heard in the thunders of the approaching eruption the voice of Polyphemus (πολύφημος), and saw in the vast masses of lava, which are for ever rolling down into the sea, the rocks which the gigantic shepherd hurled at Ulysses, or at his rival Acis—the fitting symbol of the naturally fertile and pastoral plain which lies at the roots of the mountain. It was not till a later period, that increased familiarity with the island engendered the fable of Ceres and Proserpine; that Dorian colonists landing in the harbour of Syracuse dedicated to Artemis the fertile plain which, by its abundant game and rich vegetation, could awaken no other recollections than those of her Grecian sanctuary in Elis, the only similar portion of their native country, and by the same association of ideas were brought to discern in the spring of Arethusa the re-appearance of the river Alpheus, whose full volume of waters they had last seen discharged into the sea with a force so unusual in the streams of Greece, that they could

not but believe he would rise elsewhere, and if anywhere, where so likely as in this spot, the only scene which could be congenial to his earlier stage of existence? To speak generally, the light thrown by the geography of Sicily on its early poetical character, cannot better be described than in a passage of Goethe, worth quoting in itself for its excellent delineation of the island; "With regard to Homer, a veil seems to have fallen from my eyes. The descriptions, the comparisons, come before us in a poetical form, yet are unspeakably natural; but delineated with a clearness and vividness which almost startles one. Even the most marvellous and purely imaginary events have a naturalness about them which I have never felt so much as in the vicinity of the objects described.

* * * * * * * *

"Now all these coasts, gulfs, and creeks, islands and peninsulas, rocks and sand-banks, wooded hills, soft meadows, fertile fields, neat gardens, hanging grapes, cloudy mountains, constant cheerfulness of plains, cliffs and ridges, and the all surrounding sea with such manifold variety are all present in my mind; now is the Odyssey for the first time become to me a living word." (Goethe. *Italianische Reise*. May 17, 1787.)

These illustrations of Greek history might be carried on to almost any length. But enough has been said to show the general truth of the connexion between it and its topography. We will only add, that as the singular physical correspondence between Greece as compared with other countries, and Europe as compared with other continents, (Thirlwall's *Greece*, i. p. 1), remarkably agrees with the intellectual position which Greece occupied as a miniature Europe, so the station which it stills holds, geographically as well as morally, between Europe and Asia, may serve to shadow forth the destiny still perhaps in store for modern Greece, if she has ever strength in herself to attain to it,—a destiny of which a glimpse seems to have flashed across the mind of Constantine when he founded his first city on the shores of the Bosphorus—viz. that as the Greeks were once the means of handing on the light of civilization from the East to the West, so they may yet again, in however inferior a degree, become links in the chain by which the West may be called to repay her debt by re-awaken-

ing the civilization of the East. (See also Col. Leake, second edition, i. 450).

Such being the importance of the study of Greek topography, it may not be uninteresting to point out the basis on which it rests, and the expectations which we may form of its advance.

Now, in the first place, we must not look for help, either in the past or the present, to local traditions. Wonderful as has been the preservation of the Greek nation and language through so many centuries of degradation, yet as a general rule the historical link between themselves and their ancestors, has been as entirely severed as if they were two distinct races. A few remarkable exceptions indeed are to be found, the enumeration of which will show their rarity. The church of St. Dionysius, on the slope of the Areopagus, is perhaps the only standing traditional witness to the identity of the scene of any fact (Leake's *Athens*, i. 165), besides what is afforded in the preservation of names, as at Athens of Academia (ib. i. 195), and Callirhoe (ib. i. 175). The names of towns have also been generally retained, as might be expected from a population so *civic* as the Greeks—and in some instances an ancient name is thus handed down to us, of which there is no direct mention in any extant Greek writers—as *e.g.* in the existing names of Palamedia (Leake's *Morea*, ii. 358), Trachys, Coroni (ib. ii. 457), and Cotroni (Leake's *Athens*, second edition, ii. 21). And when the names have, through the process of time, become corrupted, it is always possible to detect them through their modern disguise. Some have suffered merely under the influence of the general decay of the Greek language—which it is not here within our purpose to consider—*e.g.* Leusina for Eleusis, Marusi for Amarusia, &c. &c. Others have been superseded by names formed out of the preposition *εις* and the accusative, as if given by foreigners, who, receiving such an answer in reply to their inquiries as to the place to which they were going, had mistaken the whole sentence for a proper name. Of this, Stamboul (*εις την πόλιν*), Stalimene (*εις τὸν λιμένα*), Ὀλυμπιακοὺς ἀγῶνας for Olympia, Satinas (*εις Ἀθήνας*), which was in Wheeler's time the common name for Athens, are obvious instances. And others have been slightly modified for the sake of giving them a meaning in the

actually spoken language, of which Dr. Ulrichs has given a curious catalogue at the beginning of his tract on Crissa and Cirrha²².

But during the long course of degradation and slavery which Greece has undergone for the last three centuries, it is not surprising that the scanty knowledge which existed in the barbarism of the preceding six centuries should have entirely vanished. Rivers and mountains, which in most countries retain their names through all political convulsions, have here lost them almost universally. With regard to rivers, the only exceptions which occur to us at the moment, are the Glaucus in Achaia, whose name still appears in the form of Leucus, and the Alpheus at Olympia: the appellation of the river itself has usually been merged in the general appellation of the district through which it flows; of which perhaps the most striking instance is the Sperchius, in whose name of Ἑλλάδα, thus returning to the same narrow limits within which it was originally confined, was, for some centuries, to be found the only trace of the glorious name of Hellas. The mountains, always comparatively uninhabited, would naturally lose their distinctive names, when the vocabulary of the people who dwelt at their feet became gradually more and more limited, and their attention fixed more and more exclusively on the objects immediately within their reach. Whether the present name of Hymettus "Trelo Vouni" (the Turkish words for "Mad Mountain") originated in the Italian corruption of "Mont' Imetto" into "*Monte Matto*," depends on a question which seems not quite settled, as to whether "Trelo Vouni" or "Monte Matto" be the earlier in point of time. But most of the other names of mountains are not corruptions of the original names, but totally new ones, derived, as would be expected, from a half-civilized people living in villages,

²² χαλαιοῦ has thus been altered into ἄγκλη; Athens into ἡ Ἀθήνα; Ægina into ἡ Εἰλίνα; Naxos into ἡ Ἀξία; Ios into ἡ Νέος; Astypalea into ἡ Ἀστροπαλία; Phinius into ὁ Φονιάς; Crissa into τὸ Χρυσὸν;—to which we may add, from Wordsworth (*Athens*, 260), Psyttalia into Λιψοκονταλία. The same tendency to naturalize names which they did not

understand, by a slight alteration which would give them a meaning in their own language, appears in the Greeks of earlier times. Thus, the Hebrew word *Kidron* (dark) is altered into Κέδρων, as if "of Cedars;" and *Kison* (hard) into Κίσσων, as if "of ivy;" and in Italy *Trasimenus*, into Θρασύμενος.

either from some external peculiarity, or from some adjacent town or village. Of the first kind, "Elatea" (the mountain of pines), as applied to Cithæron, or Zagaro Vouni (camel's hunch), as applied to Helicon, are instances ;—of the second, Liacura, as applied to Parnassus, from the ancient village of Lycorea, which has itself perished ; Pani, as applied to the western part of Hymettus, apparently from the sanctuary of Pan, near Anaphlystus, (Leake's *Athens*, second edition, II. 61). And the beginning of the process is to be discerned in the name Pentelicus, still preserved in the modern ²³ Mentele, which as early as the time of Pausanias had begun to supplant the earlier and only classical name of that mountain—Brilessus. The only instance which occurs to us of the name having been preserved entire, is in the case of mount Parthenium in Arcadia ; where, however, its preservation is partly to be attributed to the mistaken notion of the inhabitants, that it is connected with a church of the Virgin, which, however, as Leake (*Morea*, II. 330) well observes, would have been called, not Ἁγία Παρθένος, but Ἁγία Θεοτόκος, or Παναγία. One of the cases where tradition is thought to be of the most weight in Greek topography, is to be found in the common notion, that the Greek Christians selected for the churches of particular saints the temples of those gods who either in name or character seemed to them their fittest predecessors. That the same position which was in pagan times occupied by a temple, would in Christian times be occupied by a church, is probable not only from the natural inducements which the place and the materials would hold out, but also from the analogy of Italy, where the change of temples into churches was almost universal, and from the appearance of its having been the case in Greece wherever we have means of judging. It would also follow that there would generally be a coincidence of situation on the sea-coast between temples of the sea-god and churches in honour of the patron-saint of sailors, St. Nicholas—between temples of any God on "high places," and churches dedicated to Elijah, which are naturally almost always to be found on the tops of hills. And, further, if there was any striking,

²³ The change of P into M is such as we see also in "Pindarus" and "Mindarus."

though only superficial, similarity either of name or external attribute, between the saint and the ancient worship, it is probable that the connexion would be preserved; and hence Dr. Wordsworth's conjecture, that the dedication of the church on the shore of Oropos to the ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι, is an indication of its having been the harbour of Oropos (ἀπόστολος), seems not without ground (*Athens*, 23); the rude paintings of St. George mounted on his horse, on the walls of one of the chapels at Colonos, may perhaps suggest a connexion with the ἱππῶτα Κολωνοῦ of Sophocles; and whilst the name of Artemis has perished, her epithet, Amarusia, is still preserved in Attica, in the name of the village Marusi, as that of Ζώρεψα is retained, we have been told, in a church or village near Trœzen. But beyond this it seems useless to venture. Even the dedication of the Parthenon to the Panaghia, and the temple of Theseus to St. George, which are generally adduced in support of the universal connexion of ideas in the succession of saints to pagan deities, seems accounted for adequately by the consideration that the two most remarkable edifices at Athens would naturally be dedicated to the most remarkable objects of Greek Hagiography; and it is surely unwarrantable, with Dr. Wordsworth, to seek for a confirmation of the supposed site of the temple of the Panhellenian Jupiter in Ægina, in the similarity of certain details between the history of Elijah and the legend of Æacus (Wordsworth's *Athens*, 270), or to imagine that an inland chapel of St. Nicholas must have of necessity succeeded to a temple of Poseidon, as at Colonos. (ib. 236.)

As a general rule, therefore, but little is to be learned from local tradition. The same ignorance which prevailed in Italy with regard to the monuments of antiquity, must have prevailed much more deeply here during the middle ages; and as the name of the Forum was lost first in that of Tria Fata, from the three statues which so long remained there, and afterwards in that of the Campo Vaccino; so the most famous places and objects in Greece received their appellations from some accidental circumstance, such as would naturally fix itself in barbarian minds, to the expulsion of the older names, which had ceased to have any meaning to them. The Piræus became Port Draco, from the lion which lay on its shore; Munychia, Port Fanari, probably from the

erection of a lighthouse; Prasæ, Port Raphte, from the imagined resemblance of the statue of a Roman emperor to the attitude of a tailor; Salamis, Colouri, from the similarity between its twisted shape and that of the small circular cakes, so common at Greek meals. "Colonna," or "Palaio Castro," or "Hellenica," or *τοὺς στύλους*, are the universal answers by which an uneducated Greek describes any of the vestiges of antiquity. And it is still more necessary to observe, that hopeless as it is to extract any truth from this profound ignorance, it is equally hopeless to extract any from the apparent knowledge which we sometimes meet in its place. This knowledge, wherever it exists, is almost always the result merely of later traditions, which have been introduced by the conjectures of travellers, eagerly caught up and propagated by the native Greeks, but resting themselves on no historical basis whatever. Such were the names given to almost all the great ruins of Athens in the middle ages, in which it is difficult whether most to wonder at the undoubting confidence or the utter inappropriateness with which they are applied. Every thing was a palace or a school, unless they made an exception in order to find in the Parthenon the Temple of the Unknown God²⁴; and so tenacious a hold did these fancies retain over the mind of the inhabitants of Athens, that the broken landmark at the mouth of the Piræus is still known as the Tomb of Themistocles, and the Monument of Lysicrates as the Lantern of Demosthenes. Even in the case of towns, which seem to retain the existing names, it is necessary to be on our guard against hasty inferences; for, first, it is easy sometimes to fall into the snare of confounding an Albanian with a Greek word—as *e. g.* "Liopeshi," which is a common Albanian name for a village, has sometimes led travellers to identify it with Alopece, the birth-place of Socrates; secondly, in the course of ages it has happened that the inhabitants of a village have migrated, carrying the name of their old residence with them—as is thought to have been the case with the name of Marathon,

²⁴ See the curious description of Athens by a Greek in the 15th century, given in the Appendix to Col. Leake's 2nd edi-

tion of his *Topography of Athens*, (Vol. I. 479.)

which seems to have moved from the southern side of the plain on which the town stood to the northern (Leake's *Athens*, II. 89); thirdly, the use of the ancient instead of the modern names, in all the official acts of the government, is so rapidly substituting the former for the latter in the mouths of the people, that it will daily become more difficult to believe that they are of recent introduction.

But when from the darkness or uncertainty which besets all external evidence in Greek topography, we turn to the clearness and certainty of all its internal evidence, the change is most satisfactory. The general outline and physical features of the country are but little altered. Wood doubtless has diminished, and with wood the rivers. Hymettus was indeed as bare in the days of Plato as it is now; but the remains of the bridge over the Ilissus show that when its banks were shaded by plane-trees, it must have had a fuller stream than it has at present. At Thermopylæ again, the fir is said so far to have driven out the oak, that it is hard to recognise the forest, the trampling of whose leaves by the Persian army first aroused the Greeks; and the pass itself has ceased to be such by the retiring of the sea from the coast. And the view of Athens, which Demosthenes enjoyed from the island of Calauræa has since been intercepted by the volcanic eruption of the ridge of Methana (Leake's *Morea*, II. 453). But these are exceptions: and one of the greatest delights of travelling in Greece is still to be found in the consciousness that we have before us the same general outline of landscape which was seen by Pericles and Plato. At Athens this delight is enhanced by the certainty with which all the most interesting points are fixed: in this respect a most pleasing contrast to the Roman Forum. To this certainty the rocky character of the soil has greatly contributed: no lapse of time can efface the vestiges of the Pnyx, the Areopagus, and the Dionysiac theatre—or of the sanctuaries of Pan, Apollo, Dionysus, Demeter, and the Furies; now reduced again to their original condition as natural caverns. And the remains of buildings,—though they have often disappeared entirely, and some, such as the Temple of Triptolemus on the Ilissus, even within the last century; and though (as Col. Leake observes) there is hardly a Greek village that does not bear marks of

having been built or repaired with the materials of ancient edifices (*Athens*, i. 99),—yet have escaped wonderfully the wholesale destruction and depredation which in Italy turned the Colosseum into a quarry, and has swept away the vast city of Capua, without leaving a trace of any building except its amphitheatre.

Nor have the actual discoveries been disproportionate to these advantages. There is no case perhaps where knowledge advances with more rapid and sure steps than where scientific and sensible research is first applied to the topography of an interesting but imperfectly known country. Let any one compare the account of Athens by a Greek of the 15th century, (in Leake's *Athens*, i. 479) in which not one single ruin is called by its right name—or again the *Travels* of Spon and Wheeler in the year 1676, in which the only ruins rightly designated are those in the Acropolis and the Theseum, and the Tower of the Winds—with the first edition of Col. Leake's work; in which the only doubtful names affixed are the gate of the New Agora, and the Stoa of Hadrian.

But it will be sufficient to indicate the discoveries made within the last twenty years. Those of Col. Leake, Ulrichs, and Müller, with regard to Delphi, and of General Gordon with regard to the Heræum of Argos, have been already mentioned. The ruins of the fortress of Decelea were accidentally found only two years ago by the French surveyors of Greece, though the general locality had long been known. And with regard to Athens itself, it may be of some use, as well as of some interest to point out the chief improvements of the 2nd edition of Col. Leake's *Athens* in detail. (1) He has adopted the true site of Lycabettus, as fixed on the hill of St. George by Dr. Forchhammer and Dr. Wordsworth (comp. 1st ed. 70, 2nd ed. i. 204). (2) The account of Callirhoe is much enlarged and elucidated (1st ed. 47. 2nd ed. i. 70). (3) Some of the most striking features of the Areopagus—the church of St. Dionysius—the hewn steps in the rock—and the cavern of the Eumenides—are here supplied (2nd ed. i. 356. 1st ed. 289). (4) The subterraneous passage in the Stadium, apparently for the purpose of Roman spectacles, is here first mentioned (1st ed. 51, 2nd ed. i. 194). (5) The accounts of the Pnyx and the Olympeum are much

amplified and enriched, (1st ed. 40. 43. 2nd ed. 183. 518. 18. 513). (6) The Eleusinium is transposed from the island in the Ilissus (1st ed. 113), (to which position he was led only by a very doubtful passage of Pausanias) to the large (and hitherto nameless) cavern under the east end of the Acropolis, which was the only one of the caves not accounted for, and which exactly accords, from its size and form, with the mystery and seclusion in which the Eleusinium was involved. This (considering that the true site of Lycabettus, is not his own discovery) appears to us the most important detail which occurs in this edition (2nd ed. 296). For much of this Dr. Wordsworth had indeed prepared the way in his book on Athens and Attica, which probably as a picture of the actual place, and as illustrating it from ancient writers, will always possess more interest for the general reader than the more systematic work of Col. Leake. There are still many points to be determined, and which we trust will ere long be determined; the real name of the hill behind the Areopagus, formerly called by Col. Leake "Lycabettus;" the true position of the Colonus Agoræus, which an ingenious conjecture has identified with this very hill, as it seems to us, with some plausibility; the true site of Anchesmus, if indeed any further data can be procured than the present evidently insufficient ones; the object of the structure above the Pnyx, called by Dr. Wordsworth the Bema of Themistocles. And in Greece generally what may we not expect from greater excavations in the plain of Olympia, where the Alpheus may in its shifting course have embedded much of the ruins in its channel; at Lebadea, where the cave of Trophonius has certainly not yet been discovered, yet almost as certainly has not yet been sought in the right direction; at Mycenæ, where the rubbish of centuries is heaped up under the very gate of the Lions itself²⁵?

Some of the questions of Greek geography belong indeed rather to the scholar than the topographer. The difficulties respecting the third long wall of Athens, and the *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος* in Thucydides' account of the fortifications of Syracuse are to be solved, if at all, not by any existing vestiges, but by discovering

²⁵ For an enumeration of the chief places where new discoveries may be expected, see Col. Leake's 2nd edition, *Athens*, i. 100.

the true meaning of the passages in question. But as a general rule the topography of ancient countries is one of the few points in which philology and physical science converge. "Ancient geography," it was well observed by Dr. Arnold, "is full of difficulties—nor is it possible to solve them without possessing the double advantage of the exact knowledge of the ancient accounts, and a personal examination of the places themselves... Mere literary men might be inclined to follow the authority of ancient writers too implicitly, and to suppose extravagant changes in the outward appearance of things rather than question their testimony... Mere scientific men, on the other hand, might err on the opposite side, and where no physical causes of change are now apparent, might too hastily conclude that the accounts of the ancients are erroneous, whenever they do not correspond with existing phenomena." (1st edition of the second volume of Dr. Arnold's edition of Thucydides, p. 398). This union however is yearly becoming more realized. The edition of Thucydides which we have just quoted is one remarkable instance of it. The paper on the Troad, recently published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, by Dr. Forchhammer, as the result of the united investigations of himself and the officers of H.M.S. *Beacon*, is another, and Col. Leake himself is a third.

And if in the foregoing remarks anything like justice has been done either to the subject of which they treat, or to the several works from which they have been for the most part derived, it will be clear that the interest and importance of the study is not unequal to any labour that is likely to be bestowed upon it.

A. P. STANLEY.

IV.

HERODOTUS.

MANY of the discoveries which have been made of late years in Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt, have brought forth something or other to strengthen the conviction that the statements of Herodotus can always be relied upon, when he speaks from his own experience, and was not imposed upon by those from whom he derived his information; but even in this latter case he had usually good sense enough to see whether what he was told was probable in itself or not. This character of the father of history is now so well established, that it scarcely requires any additional proof to support it; but as there are still some persons who cannot get rid of their mistaken notions about Herodotus, we feel great satisfaction in recording a discovery which may contribute to remove them.

In chapter 106 of the second book, Herodotus says that king Sesostris marked his victorious progress through the countries which he subdued, by monuments, some of which continued to exist in his time, and were seen and described by him. Two of these monuments existed in Ionia, the one on the road from the territory of Ephesus to Phocæa, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. The figures in these two cases were the same, and cut into the living rock. Herodotus gives his description in the following words: *ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέλυται, μέγας πίμπτης σκυιαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια δῶκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὤμοισι τοῖσι ἔμοισι ἐκτησάμην· ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε.* The monument on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, which is thus described by Herodotus, has been recently discovered by Dr. von Eckenbrecher, and has since been seen and described by Professor Welcker, whose attention was drawn to it on his recent excursion to Asia Minor. (See *Rhein. Museum, Neue Folge*, ii. p. 430, foll.) An attentive traveller, says Welcker, cannot fail to perceive the monument. The side of the rock in which it is cut is almost perpendicular, and forms a smooth, almost square wall, which is somewhat broader than high, on the right-hand side of the road,

not far from the beautiful defile which terminates about five miles on this side of Nymphi. The rock itself is seen at a considerable distance, and on approaching it closer, one perceives, if not the figure itself, at least the square cavity, on the ground of which the figure is cut, in the same manner in which the reliefs are wrought on the monuments of Egypt. The rock and the place around are called Karabel, that is, the black hip. The frame is only 90 centimeters above the road, and its lower part is cut 42 centimeters deep into the rock, and the upper part somewhat less, as the rock reclines a little. The frame is almost of a square form, and somewhat narrower at the top than at the lower part, which measures 1 meter and 85 centimeters. The figure (a warrior) is of the height of 2 meters and 30 centimeters, and holds in its left hand (not in the right, as Herodotus says) a lance, and in the right the string of a bow which hangs on its back. The detail parts of the figure are seen very indistinctly, and the hands and face appear to have been wrought originally very roughly on the rude limestone. The influence of time and the air have made even the more prominent parts of the figure very indistinct. Near the head of the warrior a bird is represented in a sort of ornamented frame. Of the inscription mentioned by Herodotus not a trace seems to be left now, as the whole surface of the figure has disappeared.

L. SCHMITZ.

Herodotus says (vii. 117), that while Xerxes was with his army at Acanthus, Artachaies died, a distinguished Persian who had superintended the construction of the canal across the Isthmus of Athos. He adds, that Xerxes gave him a splendid funeral, and the whole army raised a mound (*ἐνυμφοῦσε πᾶσα ἡ στρατία*): in the time of Herodotus, the Acanthians, pursuant to an oracular command, sacrificed to Artachaies as a Hero. "About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the westward of the north end of the canal (of Xerxes) is the modern village of Erso (on the site of Acanthus), which gives name to the bay, situated on an eminence overhanging the beach: this is crowned by a remarkable mound, forming a small natural citadel¹." This

¹ *Penny Cyclopædia*, in the article "Athos;" which was supplied for that work by Lieutenant Wolfe, who was engaged in the recent survey of the coasts

of Thrace and Macedonia. See also Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. III. p. 145, &c.

mound appears to be that described by Herodotus, who was personally acquainted with the places on the route of Xerxes from the Hellespont to Attica, as any attentive reader will see from his seventh book.

Herodotus (vii. 22) describes the peninsula of Athos as a mountainous tract projecting into the sea; on the land-side, he says, the peninsula is terminated by an isthmus about twelve stadia across, which is flat, and contains some hillocks. "The peak of Athos," says Lieut. Wolfe, "is in $40^{\circ} 9\frac{1}{2}'$ N. lat., $24^{\circ} 20'$ E. long. The canal of Xerxes is still most distinctly to be traced all the way across the isthmus, from the Gulf of Monte Santo to the Bay of Erso in the Gulf of Contessa, with the exception of about 200 yards in the middle, where the ground bears no appearance of having ever been touched. But as there is no doubt of the whole canal having been excavated by Xerxes (Herod. vii. 37, 122, and Thucyd. iv. 109), it is probable that the central part was afterwards filled up, in order to allow a more ready passage into and out of the peninsula. In many places the canal is still deep, swampy at the bottom, and filled with rushes and other aquatic plants: the rain and small springs draining down into it from the adjacent heights afford at the Monte Santo end a good watering-place for shipping; the water (except in very dry weather) runs out in a good stream. The distance across is 2500 yards, which agrees very well with the breadth of twelve stadia assigned by Herodotus. The width of the canal appears to have been about 18 or 20 feet; the level of the earth nowhere exceeds 15 feet above the sea; the soil is a light clay. It is on the whole a very remarkable isthmus, for the land on each side (but more especially to the westward) rises abruptly to an elevation of 800 to 1000 feet." This cutting through the peninsula of Athos is alleged by Juvenal (*Sat.* x. 174) as a specimen of Greek mendacity:

creditur olim

Vellicatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia!

It might suit the declamatory taste of Juvenal to write in this way, even if he knew the facts as stated by Herodotus. But probably he never took the pains to read the father of history: his studies lay in a different direction. Ruperti's note on the passage is a

good sample of critical ignorance. He had not read Herodotus, or he could not understand him.

Herodotus (vii. 125) says, that the army of Xerxes, on its march from Acanthus to Therme (afterwards Thessalonica), was annoyed by lions, which seized the camels that carried the provisions. The fine silver coins of Acanthus contain on the reverse a spirited figure of a lion on the back of a bull with his claws and teeth fixed in him. Herodotus adds, that in this part of Greece there were lions in his time, and that the lion was found in the tract between the river Nestus and the Achelous in Acarnania, but nowhere else in Europe. Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 31) also states that the lion is found between the Nestus and the Achelous. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 16) follows Aristotle.

GEORGE LONG.

V.

A DISSERTATION ON A SECOND BOSPORUS CIMMERIUS,
AND SEVERAL RIVERS OF THE PALUS MÆOTIS¹.

ANCIENT geography has always been considered as one of the most difficult branches of knowledge. However, Ptolemy, Strabo, Mela, Pliny, were popular among their countrymen who understood them easily, and who believed their statements with a readiness which was neither guided nor disturbed by that spirit of critical investigation which is one of the most striking features of modern science. Criticism, that is doubt, comparison, and conclusion, is now the indispensable condition without which scientific conviction cannot be obtained. As to ancient geography in particular, there was among the Greeks and Romans a considerable stock of knowledge, the result of experience and tradition, which existed alongside that knowledge which was contained in the works of so many distinguished authors. The ancient geographers of course pre-

¹ The substance of this paper, but representing the subject in a somewhat different light, was read in the Royal Geographical Society of Paris, in the month of August, 1842. Ed.

sented fewer difficulties to their contemporaries than to us, because their readers were generally able to complete deficiencies, and to understand rough sketches which present to us as many insurmountable difficulties. In many cases we cannot understand those geographers, because we have no knowledge of the physical changes which rivers, lakes, shores, and similar localities, have gradually undergone during the long period which separates their age from our own. As to names, a great number of them still exist, though partly altered or mutilated. The original form of others has entirely disappeared, but they are preserved in translations; for as they had an expressive meaning, they were translated into the language of those nations which succeeded the Greeks and Romans in the dominion of the countries in which those names are to be found. This is especially the case in Thrace, Illyria, Macedonia, Epirus, Asia Minor, and the countries round the Euxine, where a great number of Roman and Greek names are still to be recognized in a Slavonic or Turkish translation. Sometimes also, when the ancients are obscure in the description of important localities, it is evident that a detailed description appeared useless to them, those spots being then universally known. They wrote for the practical want of their contemporaries, and not for the scientific curiosity of later generations. In short, the knowledge of the ancients was in a great measure the result of hearing, seeing, and oral discussions; they cultivated their minds by educating their senses.

Revolutions of the soil, and alterations of names, are generally the results of a slow process; and many a century is required before the primitive state of things entirely disappears either from the surface of the earth or from the memory of a nation. Such revolutions may have been observed by later geographers, who either purposely or accidentally communicated their observations to their contemporaries, and thus to posterity. Our knowledge of the ancient times will therefore often derive many a valuable contribution from observations made during subsequent centuries. It might have happened, for example, that the Greeks of Constantinople defended their declining empire against the sword of the Khalifs, or the arrows of the Bulgarians, on a plain but imperfectly described by a contemporary of Augustus; and a Byzantine writer, in his descrip-

tion of the battle-field, might happen to give us that circumstantial information which we miss in the imperfect account of the other. The dulness of the middle ages has overshadowed ancient science, art, and enlightened opinions. A Frankish historian will be a bad source for the knowledge of the government of the Cæsars; a monk of mount Athos is regarded as a bad critic, when he condemns the mythology of his ancestors; and the Byzantine artists who built the first Christian church on the banks of the Borysthenes, and adorned it with the painting of the Virgin on gold ground, would scarcely have been able to appreciate the master-works of Apelles and Phidias. But it is not so with geography, a science which has derived more information from the keen eye of a soldier, or the vigilance of an unlettered sailor, than from the meditations of Plato and Aristotle.

The geographical observations made during the middle ages are as correct as those of Pliny and Strabo; and whether they are made by Arabs, Greeks, or Latins, they will often be useful for the understanding of obscure passages of the ancients.

The statements of Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, and Arrian, concerning the Bosphorus Cimmerius, the present island of Taman, and the mouths of the Kuban, which seem to be, and partly are, so very contradictory, derive a satisfactory explanation from a Greek author of the middle ages. This is Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who wrote his geography under circumstances and with an object which are too important in determining the trustworthiness of the author, not to deserve a few remarks.

The century, in which the emperor Constantine Porphyrogeneta lived, was a dangerous epoch for the Byzantine empire, which was then constantly exposed to the invasions of the Russians, a nation whose first appearance in history took place under strange circumstances. In the ninth and tenth centuries they were under the sway of the Waregues or Normans, who, still fond of the piratical life of their ancestors, forced the continental nations, which they had vanquished in the very heart of the boundless woods of Sarmatia, to undertake maritime expeditions. Kiew, the capital of the Norman-Russian empire, was situated at a distance of almost three hundred miles from the Euxine, but on following the curve of the Borysthenes, on the banks of which that city was, and is still

situated, the traveller has to traverse through double of that distance before he arrives at the sea-shore. In Kiew, however, in the midst of a vast continent, the Russians used to arm powerful fleets. Commanded by their Norman chiefs they descended the Borysthenes in spacious barges; they penetrated into the Euxine, and more than once laid siege to Constantinople.

The destructive incursions of these barbarians compelled the emperors of Byzantium to conclude alliances with the Petzenegues and the Khazars, or those Turkish and Finnish tribes which were scattered over the vast steppes between the Don and the Caspian. These nations being united with Byzantium through common interest, the Russians had no chance of attacking the imperial dominions without crossing a great extent of hostile country; and although they could not always be prevented from descending to the shores of the Euxine, they at least could not make their incursions without fighting their way through the arrows of the Petzenegues, who lay in ambush round the cataracts of the Borysthenes. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in his work *De Administrando Imperio*, recommended these alliances to his son Romanus, as the best means of protecting the empire against the northern barbarians; and he directs the attention of the young prince to every thing concerning the history and geography of that part of Scythia. The political importance of these countries, and the extensive trade of the Greeks on the Tanais and the Borysthenes, are so many guarantees for their geography being well known to the Byzantines; and we can only expect that the imperial author of the work cited above, who was a well-instructed man, and who certainly derived his knowledge from the most authentic sources, has given us the most correct information which it was possible to gather in his time. It is true that he makes an egregious blunder in stating that there was an uninterrupted communication by water between Novgorod and the upper part of the Borysthenes; but this is very excusable since the spot he speaks of was situated beyond the limits of correct knowledge, in one of those hyperborean countries where, as Herodotus relates, though not without his doubts, showers of feathers fall from the foggy sky, covering the fields and the leafless trees. In all his statements, however, concerning those countries

of which an exact knowledge could be obtained, the emperor is correct and accurate.

The commentators of Constantine Porphyrogeneta have written some very good notes; but the geographical part of the work, *De Administrando Imperio*, especially as far as Southern Russia is concerned, was far from being cleared up in a satisfactory manner, until Bayer, one of the earliest and most distinguished members of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, published his commentary, which is excellent in many respects, and which is contained in the ninth volume of the *Commentarii Academiæ Petropolitanae*.

Bayer lived at a time when the whole extent of Southern Russia was almost inaccessible to scientific investigation, on account of its being in the hands of the Tatars of the Crimea, whose jealous temper could hardly distinguish between an innocent astronomer and a Russian spy. He had no such detailed maps as have since been engraved by order of the Russian government; and he lived long before the time of Dr. Clarke, and Pallas, that illustrious traveller, who has given us the best description of the countries between the Don, the Volga, and the range of the Caucasus. Although Bayer always tries to restore or discover the correct names, he does not always venture to give his fair opinion about the situation of the localities which are designated by those names. Sometimes also he labours under palpable mistakes, or has recourse to a particular kind of wit, which, among the German scholars of the past century, was admired as *esprit*, but which is far from agreeing either with the taste or the criticism of the present age. In later years, the learned Count Potocki, Frähn, the eminent oriental scholar, Müller, the author of *Der Ugrische Volksstamm*, Eichwald, and several other distinguished men, have treated on the same subject, although their purpose was by no means to write commentaries upon Constantine Porphyrogeneta.

In 1840, the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* of Paris, proposed as a prize-essay the history of the nations which lived in Southern Russia from the third to the tenth century, with particular regard to the geography of Constantine Porphyrogeneta. One memoir was presented and rejected in 1841,

and the problem was renewed; but it will not be before the month of August in this year that we shall know the result of it.

The passage of Constantine Porphyrogeneta concerning the Palus Mæotis, which throws light on the passages of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Arrian, treating the same subject, has presented great difficulties to the commentators; and until this day it has not been explained in a satisfactory way. This passage is of great importance, because it enables us to prove the existence of a second Bosphorus Cimmerius, which has now disappeared, but which continued open in the tenth century of our era. The following is a translation of the passage.

"A great many rivers empty themselves into the eastern part of the Palus Mæotis, (among which are remarkable) the Tanais, which comes down from the castle of Sarcel, and the Choracul, in which the fish called Berzeticon are caught. Besides these there are the Bal, the Burlic, the Chader, and a great number of other rivers; there is also a channel (called) Burlic, which is a mouth of the Mæotis, through which this sea flows into the Euxine, at the very same place where the Bosphorus flows into it. Opposite the (town of) Bosphorus there stands the castle of Tamatarcha; the breadth of the above-mentioned channel between them (Tamatarcha and Bosphorus) is eighteen miles, and half-way of this distance there is a large flat island of the name of Atech. At a distance of from eighteen to twenty miles from the castle of Tamatarcha there flows the river Ucruch, which separates the island of Tamatarcha from the country of Zichia, which extends from the river Ucruch to the river Nicopsis²."

² De Administrando Imperio, cap. 42, p. 180, 181, ed. Bonn.—"Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀνατολικώτερον μέρος τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης εισέρχονται πολλοὶ τινες ποταμοί· ὃ τε Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάστρου Σάρκελ ἐρχόμενος, καὶ τὸ Χωρδκούλ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ βερζήτικον ἀλιεύεται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ποταμοί, ὁ Βάλ, καὶ ὁ Βουρλίκ, ὁ Χαδὴρ καὶ ἄλλοι πλεῖστοι ποταμοί· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἐξέρχεται στόμιον τὸ Βουρλίκ ἐπονομαζόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θύλασ-

σαν καταρεῖ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ὁ Βόσπορος. Ἀντικρὺ δὲ τῆς Βοσπόρου τοῦ Ταμάταρχα λεγόμενον κάστρον ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ διδῶντα τοῦ περάματος τοῦ τοιούτου στομίου ἐστὶ μίλια ιη'. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν αὐτῶν ιη' μιλίων ἐστὶ νησίον μέγα χαμηλὸν τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀτέχ. ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταμάταρχα ἐστὶ ποταμός ἀπὸ μιλίων ιη' ἢ καὶ κ', λεγόμενος Οὐκρούχ, ὁ διαχωρίζων τὴν Ζιχίαν καὶ τὸ Ταμάταρχα. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Οὐκρούχ μέχρι τοῦ Νικόψεως ποταμοῦ.....ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα τῆς Ζιχίας."

Bayer remarks with regard to this passage, that it is very difficult to find out the modern names and the situation of all these rivers, the ancient names having disappeared without leaving any trace. According to him, the Tanais and the Chader are the extreme limits between which the remaining rivers are to be placed; but as he leaves the reader in doubt with regard to the situation of the Chader, these limits, though fixed in the north by the Tanais, remain vague in the south. It is evident that he believes these two rivers to be the extreme limits, because it happens that the emperor begins with the Tanais, and finishes with the Chader. But an attentive examination of the Greek text will show, that the author was far from enumerating the rivers of the Mæotis in the order in which we find them successively crossing our way in travelling along the shore from north-east to south-west. The rivers which are mentioned before all the others, are the Tanais and the Choracul; and the author leads the attention of the reader to them by putting their names together within the space of a single clause, while all the other rivers are enumerated separately. By thus pointing out two rivers, one of which is known to be one of the largest of Europe, the author evidently intended to speak first of the two most considerable objects of his inquiries. He mentioned first and conjointly the Tanais and the Choracul, because they surpassed the others in magnitude; and he did not comply with the method of Ptolemy, who, as a mere mathematical geographer, and always with a view to longitude and latitude, keeps strictly to the geographical order and position of the localities. We have of course only to find out that river which is the most considerable after the Don. This is undoubtedly the Chernaïa Protoka, one of the two branches of the Kuban, both of which flow into the Sea of Azof, (Palus Mæotis); the other branch, the Kazatchei Yerik, is less considerable. The Chernaïa Protoka runs through a swampy country, and its upper course, though very wide in some places, is narrow in others, its bed being obstructed by reeds and sand-banks; but its mouth is large and deep enough to afford a good harbour for the Russian galley-fleet, opposite the fortress of Achuïef. The mouth of the main branch of the Kuban, which empties itself into the Black Sea, is neither as wide nor as deep as that of

the Chernaïa Protoka. It is a shallow passage of scarcely one hundred fathoms in breadth; and on the capture of Anapa, during the war from 1787 to 1791, the Russian horsemen forded it from one point to the other³. On the map of the Caucasus, published at St. Petersburg in 1834, the Chernaïa Protoka is marked among the great rivers by a blue line between its outlines, just as the Kuban itself. It is very probable that in the time of Constantine Porphyrogeneta the Chernaïa Protoka was still more important. The tract through which it flows is an immense swamp; extensive fields of rushes and high reeds cover the banks of the innumerable rivers and lakes by which it is drained; and while they gradually obstruct the current of the inland waters, the mouths of the rivers are blocked up by masses of sand and mud, deposited there by the sea, and by which, among others, both the channels through which the lake of Temruk empties itself into the sea of Azof, have been rendered unfit for navigation. There is a continual struggle between land and water. But although in the rainy season the whole country seems to be drowned for ever, the waters gradually sink, and the ground acquires still more solidity from a thick deposit of clay and mud, of which a luxuriant vegetation soon takes a lasting possession. This phenomenon, says Dr. Clarke⁴, is especially to be observed on the very spot where the Chernaïa Protoka takes its origin, by separating itself from the main branch of the Kuban. This struggle, in which the solid element is victorious, obliges us not to reject altogether so many maps of the 15th, the 16th, the 17th, and even of the 18th century, in which the Chernaïa Protoka has a breadth quite equal to that of the main branch of the Kuban. In several other maps the Kuban has but one mouth by which it empties itself into the Sea of Azof. Such are, the map contained in the beautiful and rare edition of Ptolemy, published at Rome in 1490; that of Ortelius of the sixteenth century; that of Matthew Steutter of the seventeenth; and others.

The identity of the Choracul and the Chernaïa Protoka acquires still more strength from several other circumstances. A comparison

³ So Pallas states. The Russian Survey gives five feet to it.

⁴ Clarke, *Travels in various parts of*

Europe, Asia, and Africa, Vol. I. p. 385, &c. 390, &c. 399, &c.

between Turkish and European maps of the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian, will show that a great number of Russian names now in use in that country are but translations of the primitive names, which are nearly all of Turkish origin. In the tenth century the country round the Sea of Azof was inhabited by Turkish tribes, except a small tract in the Crimea and some places in the island of Taman, where there were a few Goths surnamed "Tetraxitæ." We must therefore conclude that the primitive names given by Constantine Porphyrogeneta are Turkish, and this language of course will be of great use wherever it is desirable to know the meaning of those words. Bayer has already observed that Choracul is without any doubt the Turkish *قوله* (*Kara Kol*), altered only by the Greek pronunciation, and the signification of which is the *black arm*, or the *black branch*, that is, "of a river." A striking fact, which it was impossible for the learned academicians to observe, is, that the present Russian name, *Chernaïa Protoka*, signifies exactly the same as *Kara Kol*; and this is another proof of the identity of the Choracul and the *Chernaïa Protoka*. The indiscriminate use of *kara* and *chernoi*, of which *chernāia* is the feminine, and both of which signify *black*, is proved by many instances. In some maps the *Chernaïa Protoka*, or *Chernoi Protok*, is called *Kara Kuban*; in some, *Chernoi Kuban*; in others, these names are given indiscriminately to a dead branch of the Kuban west of the *Chernaïa Protoka*; and the same double name still designates one of the greatest of the tributaries of the Kuban, as well as a broad branch of it which leaves it near *Karakubanskoi*, and again joins the main river near *Fort Kalas*.

It is also remarkable that Constantine Porphyrogeneta designates the Choracul by *τὸ Χωράκουλ*, and not by *ὁ Χωράκουλ*, scilicet *ὁ ποταμός*. This strange exception of gender appears quite natural if the article *τὸ* is explained by the omitted noun *στομίον*; a designation which accurately describes the character of a river which is but one of the mouths of the great Kuban.

The emperor completes his description of the Choracul by the words, "in which the fish called *Berzeticon* are caught."

The commentary of Bandurius gives sufficient information about this fish. It was one of the species of sturgeon, or perhaps a general name for all the different sorts of sturgeon which abounded

in the Mæotis as early as the time of Pliny and Strabo, especially in the two Rhombites, the mouths of the Yey and the Bey-su. In our days the mouth of the Chernaïa Protoka is one of the principal places for sturgeon-fishing. In the time of Constantine the Kuban generally was renowned for its abundance of fish, as we learn from the Arabic geographer Mas'ûdî, who tells a story about them which is still more marvellous than what Strabo relates about these fish being hewn out from the ice ⁵.

The identity of the Choracul and the Chernaïa Protoka having been proved, and this river being the southernmost of all the rivers of the Sea of Azof, it is evident that the other rivers mentioned by the author are to be placed between the Don and the Chernaïa Protoka.

It is generally believed that the Bal, or, according to the pronunciation of the time of Constantine, the Val, is the present Bey-su. This is a mere hypothesis. Bál or Vâl, بال or وال signifies in Turkish a whale, and also various other kinds of very large fish. The name is therefore well fitted for a river in which large fish are caught. It is this circumstance that perhaps induced geographers to presume that the Val is the present Bey-su, although there are some traces of this name left in the country, which rather refer to the Yey. In the map of Matthew Steutter the name of Callballnar is given to the tract round the mouth of the Yey, while a district south of the mouth of the Bey-su is called Callver. In the map of Minor Tartary by Peter Schenk, the name of Callballnar is changed into Kallbarna, and designates the river Yey itself, which, in the map contained in the Atlas of Russia published by the Academy of St. Petersburg in 1745, as well as in several other maps, is called Cabanar. But all this may refer as well to the river Chalbash-su, or Chelbá-su (چلباسو, or perhaps Jiláb-su, جلابسو, *the muddy river*), the next neighbour of the Bey-su, the mouth of which is entirely blocked up by the sand which the sea has deposited there. I have been enabled to compare a considerable number of English, Russian, French, German, and Turkish maps, of the best geographers, and several others in MS. of different ages; but they exhibit so many contradictions with regard to those

⁵ Strabo, p. 307, Cas.; Mas'ûdî, translated by Dr. Sprenger, Vol. I. p. 438.

rivers, that it is impossible to come to any satisfactory conclusion. Bayer also is far from deciding the question. As to the river Burlic, I suppose that it is the Kazatchei Yerik, or the second northern branch of the Kuban, the course of which is parallel to the Chernaïa Protoka, which it accompanies at but a small distance from its origin near Fort Kopil on the Kuban, to its mouth, which is only at a few miles east of the mouth of the Chernaïa Protoka. We shall see below that the signification of the word Burlic gives some probability to this hypothesis. There are no facts which allow us to fix the position of the Khader; it is one of the larger rivers between the Don and the Chernaïa Protoka.

I shall now examine the passage in which Constantine mentions the channel Burlic, which must not be confounded with the river Burlic.

This passage is of great importance, and of equal interest to philologers and geographers. It presents great difficulties. "Subobscura hæc sunt"—says Bayer with regard to it. His endeavours to remove the difficulties are a specimen of that kind of witty sagacity of which I have spoken above. Supposing that there is a certain connexion between the river Burlic and the channel Burlic, he says: "Videtur Burlic esse ille fluvius quem in charta turcica قوبان, *Kubán*, vocari video. Potest fieri ut hic fluvius deductus in Mæotin *super ejus undis natet coloremque servet usque ad Bosporum*, unde ipsius Bospori nomen Burlic ei quoque tributum sit." Thus the Burlic, that is, a branch of the Kuban, crosses the Sea of Azof, a distance of more than fifty miles, and preserving its primitive yellowish colour amidst the equally yellow waves of this sea, arrives as a separate stream in the Bosporus, and gives it its name! If this be true, the Straits of Yenikale must be of a curious aspect. For the Don, the Yey, the Bey-su, and all the other rivers of the Sea of Azof, are all yellow enough to retain their peculiarity unimpaired, as well as the Burlic.

With regard to the channel Burlic, Bayer says: "Apparet eum Burlic vocare Mæotidis ostium ubi se Ponto miscet, seu ipsum Bosporum Cimmerium. Nam ista, "ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ὁ Βόσπορος," sive sic interpretari possis: "ἐν ᾧ δηλονότι τῷ τόπῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Βόσπορος," sive "ἐν ᾧ δηλονότι τῷ στομίῳ τῷ Βουρλικ καλουμένῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Βόσπορος," ut Bosporum

dicat trajectum, Burlic ipsum alveum e Mæotide se exonerantem in Pontum."

This explanation is inadmissible. If such were the opinion of Constantine, he would have expressed himself in an easier and more intelligible way. Besides, Strabo⁶ tells us that the name of Bosphorus designated the whole extent of the straits, from their origin to their mouth; and there is not the slightest ground for believing that during the time between Strabo and Constantine Porphyrogeneta that name was given to only a part of the straits. In another passage (p. 309), Strabo says that Bosphorus designated the northern, narrow part of the straits; but this must be understood in a narrower sense of the word, and does not exclude what he states in p. 394. .

However obscure the text is, we have the choice between two hypotheses: either the Bosphorus and the channel called Burlic are identical, or the Burlic was a second channel which existed in the time of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, but has entirely disappeared in the present time. If they were identical, Burlic was undoubtedly the barbarous name of the Bosphorus, which was likewise called Tanais, according to Procopius⁷, Arrian⁸, and Evagrius⁹; and Patares or Pataris, according to Ammianus Marcellinus¹⁰. But we must suppose, that if the emperor's intention was to tell his son that the barbarians used to call the Bosphorus Burlic, he would have done so in as many words. I shall therefore proceed to the second hypothesis, that the Burlic and the Bosphorus were two distinct channels, the latter of which was so universally known that the author could refer to it in order to fix the position of the Burlic; which of course must have been less known and of less importance. If I call this alleged meaning of the passage an hypothesis, it is merely on the ground that at present there is but one channel. For as to the words of the text, they clearly mention two channels; and neither Bayer nor any other commentator would have hesitated to admit the fact, had they not been prepossessed by the opinion

⁶ Pag. 494. Cas.

⁷ iv. 4.

⁸ *Periplus*.

⁹ iv. 23. Pag. 365 ed. Valesius. Evagrius refers to Procopius.

¹⁰ xxii. 8.

that there could not have been two in the time of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, since there is but one at the present time.

The point at issue therefore is to know whether Constantine was correct in saying that there were two channels or not. My opinion is that he was; and I shall now endeavour to prove that in former times there was a second Bosporus Cimmerius, and that it is the same which is called Burlic by Constantine Porphyrogeneta. It is hardly necessary to say that such a channel cannot have existed west of the Bosporus, across the elevated easternmost peninsula of the Crimea. But the eastern shore of the Bosporus belongs to a tract of land where we find the most evident traces of physical revolutions by which its surface was changed in former times, and to which it has continued to be subject down to the present day. This is the delta-island of Taman, the Tamatarcha of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, and the 'Ἡὸς of Pliny¹¹, an island which has more the appearance of the skeleton of a land, than of a real land.

"Taman," says Pallas¹² in his excellent account of it, "is a country which is cut up in a most singular manner, and where hills and lowlands alternate everywhere. Sinkings of the ground, volcanic eruptions, invasions of the sea, and the periodical inundations of the Kuban, are the causes of the revolutions which this island has undergone, and which are likely to change it still more. During our passage over the Bosporus to Taman, we distinctly perceived the volume of vapours which hangs over the island in calm weather. These vapours, which resemble a thick mist, together with the many deep sources of mud and rock-oil, are indubitable proofs that there is burning, at a considerable depth under the island, a quantity of inflammable matter (*coals*), which is the cause of this phenomenon, as well as of the extreme heat and moisture of the soil. The different branches of the Kuban, with several large bays and low tracts, completely insulate this country. Besides those bays, the salt-marshes near Kurku, together with some branches of the Kuban, and two more considerable arms of this river—lying beyond them, and running north into the sea of

¹¹ *Historia Naturalis*, vi. 6.

¹² *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise im Südlichen Russland*. Vol. II. p. 253, &c.

The English Translation (London, 1812, 4to. p. 287, &c.) gives rather the general than the literal meaning of the passage.

Azof, and having the Russian names of Chernaïa Protoka and Kazatchei-Yerik—completely insulate Taman, which anciently had no particular name: it appears, however, to have derived its present name from the word ‘Tuman,’ signifying “mist,” in the Tatar and Russian languages; to which it is well entitled, on account of the vapours already mentioned.”—I complete this description by adding from Dureau de la Malle¹³, that the atterations, resulting from the enormous quantity of clay and mud carried down into the Sea of Azof by its numerous and mighty tributary rivers, have undoubtedly produced all these narrow necks of land so characteristic in the shores of this sea, and which, in the island of Taman, separate from the sea several lakes and creeks, which, without any doubt, were in former times as many open gulfs and bays.

The skeleton-form of the island, the numerous lakes and creeks, the innumerable rivers and branches by which the marshy part of the island and the adjacent continent are intersected, and the result of the periodical inundations of the Kuban, which cover all the lowlands between the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea, are the causes of the great confusion which has always prevailed as to whether Taman was an island or a peninsula; and they explain to us the errors of so many distinguished geographers, who, having no good maps of the country, could not extricate themselves from this labyrinth of lakes and rivers.

Among the ancients, Strabo¹⁴ gives the most detailed account of this country. He speaks in very precise terms of its being an island surrounded by the Mæotis, by a lake which he calls Corocondamētis, and by the river Anticeita, or Hypanis. This is correct; but with regard to the lake Corocondamētis his knowledge is very confused. He seems to understand the Kubanskoi Liman;

¹³ *Géographie Physique de la Mer Noire.*

¹⁴ Pag. 494-95, Cas.—Υπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Κοροκονδάμης εὐμεγέθους λίμνη, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Κοροκονδαμῆτιν ἐκδίδωσι δὲ ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς κάμης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν· ἐμβάλλει δὲ εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἀπορρώξ τις τοῦ Ἀντικείτου ποταμοῦ καὶ ποιεῖ νῆσον περικλυστόν τινα ταύτη τε τῇ λίμνῃ καὶ τῇ Μαϊώτιδι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πο-

ταμόν Ὑπανιν προσαγορεύουσι, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν πρὸς τῷ Βορυσθένει. Ἐισπλέουσιν δὲ εἰς τὸν Κοροκονδαμῆτιν, ἡ τε Φαναγορία ἐστὶ πόλις ἀξιόλογος, καὶ Κῆπος, καὶ Ἐρμώνασσα, καὶ τὸ Ἀπάτουρον τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν· ὧν ἡ Φαναγορία καὶ ὁ Κῆπος κατὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν νῆσον ἴδρυνται, εἰσπλέοντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐν δεξιᾷ πέραν Ὑπάνιος, ἐν τῇ Σινδικῇ.....

but he says, that "he who enters this lake in a ship will find the towns of Phanagoria and Cepi (near the entrance of the lake) at his left." It is true that Phanagoria is at the left, that is, north-west from the mouth of the Kuban; but it is separated from it by the whole breadth of the peninsula of Corocondama, a distance of 14 miles, or 122 stadia. It is also known that it is the main branch of the Kuban which flows into the Kubanskoi Liman, a mighty river, for which the words "*ἀπορροή τις τοῦ Ἀντικείρου ποταμοῦ*" seem to be an inconvenient expression. As Strabo¹⁵ knew very well that Phanagoria was situated on the Bosphorus, opposite Panticapæum, he could not say that it was situated near the mouth of the Kuban; and the lake near Phanagoria is without doubt the bay of Taman, at the entrance of which this town is situated. However, Phanagoria is on the right, and not on the left, of those who arrive there from the sea. On the other hand, Strabo in saying that Hermonassa was to the right of the entrance, beyond the Hypanis, seems not to understand the entrance of the Kubanskoi Liman, but the bay of Taman. For Ptolemy, according to whom Phanagoria is situated in 47° 50' lat. and 64° 30' long., places Hermonassa in 47° 30' lat. and 65° long.; and though this point is in the Black Sea, it is in any case south of the Kuban; and Hermonassa, of course, was situated south of the Hypanis. Thence it follows, that he who enters the Kubanskoi Liman could not say that it was beyond the Hypanis; but it was beyond this river to those who entered the bay of Taman, near Phanagoria. It is also an important fact, that the town of Corocondama was situated at the southern entrance of the Bosphorus, opposite Acra, and of course much nearer to the bay of Taman than to the Kubanskoi Liman, though the distance is much more than 10 stadia. These reasons have induced me to believe that the Lacus Corocondametis is the bay of Taman, and not the Kubanskoi Liman, as is the general opinion. The existence of a second Bosphorus is of much importance for the final explanation of this passage of Strabo, as I shall show below. Strabo apparently confounds the Kubanskoi Liman, the bay of Taman, and the lake of Temruk; and the latter is the only one which he can possibly mean

¹⁵ Pag. 307.

by saying that ἀπορρῶξ τις τοῦ Ἀντικείρου ποταμοῦ falls into it. The lake of Temruk receives a branch of the Kuban, and empties itself into a large creek of the Sea of Azof by two channels near Fort Temruk, both or one of which were navigable in former times; they are the very channels by which, together with the main branch of the Kuban, Taman is made an island; and it can hardly be doubted that this branch with its continuations is the ἀπορρῶξ τοῦ Ἀντικείρου of Strabo.

Ptolemy is said to have made a mistake in putting his Atticitus, the presumed Anticeita of Strabo, too far towards the north, in 49° 20' lat. and 70° long. But it is evident that the Atticitus is another branch of the Kuban, either the Chernaïa Protoka or the Kazatchei Yerik, which are both to the north of the above-mentioned creek; and with regard to the name of the river, Strabo may have been mistaken as well as Ptolemy, unless either Atticitus or Anticeita was the general, and perhaps barbarous name of the Kuban, which is very probable. In this case there is no mistake at all, as they gave the general name of the river to two of its branches, just as these branches are now often called Kuban, or Kara Kuban, or branches of the Kuban, though their local names are Chernaïa Protoka, and Kazatchey Yerik.

That branch which Strabo calls Anticeita, is called Vardanus by Ptolemy, and it seems that Vardanus was the local name of this branch.

It is well known that the eastern longitudes of Ptolemy are far from being accurate, and that they grow still more inaccurate in proportion as they advance towards the east; and it is also known that Ptolemy's idea concerning the extent and the position of the Mæotis is extremely erroneous. According to him, the longitudinal direction of this sea is from south to north, while in reality it is from south-west to north-east; so that Ptolemy puts the Promontorium Cimmerium in 66° 30' long., and the town of Tanais near the northern corner of the Mæotis in 67° long., while that promontory is in 36° 23' E. long. of Greenwich, and the northern, or more correctly the north-eastern corner of the Sea of Azof, in 39° E. long. of Greenwich. Thus Ptolemy has committed an error of 2 degrees and 7 minutes of longitude. His mistake with regard to the latitudinal extent of the Mæotis is still

greater. He puts the Promontorium Cimmerium in $48^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. and the town of Tanais in $54^{\circ} 20'$ N. lat.; and the extent of the Mæotis between these two points is therefore equal to 5 degrees and 50 minutes of latitude. But the promontory being in $45^{\circ} 28'$ N. lat. and $36^{\circ} 23'$ E. long. (the northern entrance of the Bosphorus is in $45^{\circ} 25'$ N. lat., and $36^{\circ} 15'$ E. long.), and the north-eastern corner of the Sea of Azof in $47^{\circ} 17'$ N. lat. and 39° E. long.; the latitudinal difference between the two points is only 1 degree and 49 minutes. The direct distance between them is about 180 English miles; while, according to Ptolemy, it would be upwards of 400 miles. From this we may conclude that the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are of little direct use. They are nevertheless very important on account of their comparative accuracy. The mouth of the Rhombites Minor, now Bey-su, in $50^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat. and 69° long. according to Ptolemy, is at nearly an equal distance from the Promontorium Cimmerium in the south and the town of Tanais in the north; and exactly so is the mouth of the Bey-su, although the same distance amounts to about 240 miles according to the system of Ptolemy, while in reality it is only about 90 miles¹⁶. It can hardly be doubted that Ptolemy knew the distance in stadia between the Promontorium Cimmerium and the Rhombites Minor, a place so well known for its fisheries; but as he was convinced, on the other hand, that his opinion respecting the position of Tanais was correct, and as he most probably knew that the mouth of the Rhombites Minor was half way between that promontory and Tanais, he fixed the river there, in spite of the distance in stadia, because here, as in many other cases, he would not sacrifice his system to the evidence of a single fact. As to the Vardanus mentioned above, he puts its mouth in $48^{\circ} 20'$ N. lat. and 68° long.; the Promontorium Cimmerium is in $48^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., and $66^{\circ} 30'$ long.; the mouth, of course, would be at 1 degree and 30 minutes east of the promontory, and but 10 minutes south of it. There is no river in the southern part of the Mæotis so far east from the promontory; and the longitude, of course, is one of those theoretical errors of Ptolemy. The decisive fact is the latitude. There is no river of the whole Sea of Azof that has its mouth

¹⁶ *Comp. Strabo*, p. 493-94.

south of the Promontorium Cimmerium, except that branch of the Kuban which flows into the lake of Temruk, and thence by two channels into the creek of the Sea of Azof. This is the same branch which Strabo calls a part or arm of the Anticeita or Hypanis, but for which he has no special name. The mouth of this branch, that is, the mouth of the creek, is in $45^{\circ}21'$ N. lat., and in $36^{\circ}55'$ E. long., and between it and the Promontorium Cimmerium there is a latitudinal difference of 7 minutes, being very near the 10 minutes of Ptolemy. But if instead of the mouth of the creek, we put the point of the junction of the southern or larger of those two branches with the creek, which is in $45^{\circ}18'$ N. lat., and exactly 10 minutes south of the promontory, there is no difference at all, and Ptolemy is as correct as the great Russian Atlas of Russia in 60 sheets, which I have used for these measurements.

From these inquiries we obtain the following results:—Anticeita, Hypanis, and most probably also Psychrus, are names for the Kuban in general, and especially for its main branch; the Atticitus of Ptolemy is one of the northern branches of the Kuban, either the Chernaïa Protoka, or the Kazatchei Yerik, and most probably the local name of either of them, there being no proof whatsoever that the Atticitus and the Anticeita of Strabo are the same rivers. The Vardanus is not the main branch of the Kuban, as has been asserted so often, but the local name of either of the Temruk branches of the Kuban—most probably of the southern and larger branch.

After this investigation concerning the knowledge of the ancients of the island of Taman, I take up again the course of my inquiries concerning the traces of the Burlic of Constantine Porphyrogeneta.

A glance at the map of Taman will show that the lake of Temruk, sending its waters into the Sea of Azof, and being situated above the level of this sea, no direct and regular communication between the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea can ever have existed across the island of Taman. It is true, that in the rainy season the Kuban overflows many parts of the low isthmuses in the eastern part of the island, so as to produce a communication by water between the two seas; but this is only a periodical inundation. One part of the waters flows towards the

north into the Sea of Azof, and another towards the south into the Black Sea; and these waters cannot even be called a periodical mouth of the Sea of Azof. Here, of course, no second Bosphorus is conceivable, though it is very probable, that, at a period beyond all historical knowledge, the present Bosphorus did not exist, and that the elevated part of the island of Taman was the easternmost part of the continent of the Crimea, from which it was separated by the waters of the Sea of Azof, which bored a new channel after the primitive eastern channel had been filled up with the mud and sand carried down by the Kuban. The only place where a second mouth can possibly have existed after that phenomenon had taken place, is the narrow isthmus which separates the bay of Taman in the south from the Sea of Azof in the north. Pallas gives the following description of it:—

“ On approaching the eastern corner of the bay of Taman, the traveller comes to a flat sandy plain, which is but little elevated above the level of the sea. Several old barrows rise above it, and its surface is covered with downs, drifted together by the wind, and resembling in some way large clods, the sides of which are cut up almost at right angles. At the angle of the innermost bay we passed a singular ancient rampart, the foundation of which exceeds ten fathoms in breadth: it extends in a straight line from east to west, over the level country, at the distance of nearly one verst from the sea. It has three distinct passages, and each of them was formerly defended by a kind of bonnets, the ruins of which are still visible. It terminates in a hillock on the plain, without reaching any of the eminences in its vicinity. On the south side of the mound is a broad shallow ditch containing some brackish water, and on the opposite side are some excavations, from which the soil appears to have been taken for the purpose of raising the rampart. After having passed this barrier, we gradually approached the soft slope of the elevated country, which is covered with a luxuriant vegetation. A little farther on the high plain are several barrows, surrounded with large slabs of a calcareous sandy schistus: they are scattered irregularly about, sometimes extending east and west, and sometimes north and south. They are not of Tatar, but probably of Tcherkessian origin. Two slender pillars, or tomb-stones, upwards of a fathom in height, are

conspicuous among them. On the whole, we observed here a perfect resemblance to the graves near Tokluk."

This flat and sandy plain, bordered in the west and in the east by hills, and stretching from one sea to the other, across an isthmus of only four miles breadth, bears the distinct character of an ancient sea-ground. There the Sea of Azof once, undoubtedly, communicated with the bay of Taman; and there is the only place where we can put the Burlic of Constantine Porphyrogeneta. Two principal causes seem to have contributed to the formation of this plain: the sand carried down by the Sea of Azof, and a rising of the ground produced by one of those quasi-volcanic phenomena which are so frequent in this island. In 1799 a small island rose suddenly above the surface of the sea, at a small distance from the coast near Temruk, a phenomenon which was preceded and accompanied by all the symptoms of an earthquake. The ancient channel was first filled up, as it seems, on the side where it poured its waters into the bay of Taman. A small isthmus arose there, which the Gothic inhabitants defended by means of that ancient rampart of which Pallas speaks, in order to make this part of Taman less accessible to the invasions of the Turkish and Tcherkessian hordes. At least, a rampart which extends only over a portion of the isthmus, leads to the natural conjecture, that it was only this portion which required to be fortified, the remaining part being defended by nature. As the broad ditch was on the south, or more correctly, the south-eastern side of the mound, the enemy, of course, was expected from this side, the only one from which those barbarians could approach the peninsula beyond the rampart. The remaining part of the channel was, without doubt, at that time a dead inlet of the Sea of Azof, which continued to be filled up with sand, until it became that flat plain which we see there at the present time. A circumstance of the highest importance corroborates the opinion that the plain was formerly covered with water, viz. the ancient barrows or tombs of which Pallas speaks. There is a great number of similar tombs on the elevated country, along both the shores of the Bosphorus, and its gulfs; a fact from which we may conclude that the inhabitants used to inter their dead in the elevated fields and gardens along the sea, from which the barrows were thus

to be seen at a considerable distance. Some of these tombs, of which Pallas gives a description, are of Turkish (Tatar), others of Tcherkessian origin; and they must not be confounded with those more ancient Greek tombs which have been examined by Pallas and Dr. Clarke. The tombs in this place are not on the plain, as Pallas at first seems to say, by using the vague expression, *erheben sich über die Ebene*, "rise above the plain;" they discontinued before he arrived in the plain; and it was only after having crossed the rampart that he saw more of them on the elevated ground, several of which have an easterly direction, that is, are situated along the borders of the plain. It is scarcely credible, that people who liked to inter their dead along the seashore, should have buried them along the borders of a barren sandy plain. These tombs may therefore be considered as an additional proof that at the time of their construction the plain was a channel of the sea. The Tcherkessian tombs were erected at a later period than that of Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in whose time the island of Taman was chiefly inhabited by Gothi Tetraxitæ, and some Greeks, who lived in the towns. Almost a century later these nations were driven out by the Tcherkessians, who, in their turn, were obliged to make room for Turkish tribes.

It is very probable that the line of the soundings in the bay of Taman, which are taken from a MS. chart of Cloquet¹⁷ and others, indicates the direction of the current of the ancient Burlic. The deepest soundings of the bay are not in its mouth towards the Bosphorus, but are confined to a narrow bed stretching from east to west across the whole length of the gulf. These soundings are generally the same as those of the Bosphorus; and there is a striking parallelism between their direction, so as to make us believe that both the channels were formed at the same time, and by the same force acting upon a soil possessing the same natural properties. While the current of the Bosphorus was confined to the narrow channel between the continent of the Crimea and the isle of Atech,

¹⁷ *Carte Manuscrite du Détroit de Taman*, par J. B. Cloquet. Geographical Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris, No. 3104; *Plan Manuscrit de la Mer d'Azof et d'une partie de la Mer Noire*,

dressé en 1774 par le Capitaine de Kinsbergen. Ib. No. 3099. Through the kindness of Mr. Walker I have been enabled to compare these charts with a MS. tracing of the Russian Survey.

that of the Burlic ran east of it, between this island and the opposite coast of Taman, across the cluster of islands which stretches from point Yushnaïa Kossa north-west. The smaller isles between Atech and Taman cannot have existed at that period, on account of the current; and we thus conceive why Constantine Porphyrogeneta mentions only one isle, Atech, which was situated in the middle of the Bosphorus. The smaller isles, the surrounding banks, as well as the still increasing Teska Bank round Point Sewernaïa Kossa, are produced by the sands carried down by the Bosphorus, which were heaped up there as soon as the current of the Burlic had ceased to carry them away into the Black Sea. Beyond Atech the two currents ran in a parallel direction towards the sea, and at last the Burlic emptied into the Euxine at the very same spot where the Bosphorus discharged itself into it. Thus the passage of Constantine Pophyrogeneta, which has caused so much trouble to Bayer, "τὸ Βουρλικὸν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πόντου θάλασσαν καταρεῖ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ὁ Βόσπορος," far from presenting the slightest difficulty, informs us, on the contrary, in the plainest and clearest way, of what was the case in the tenth century. We also learn that the word Burlic بولك or برك (union, association, company,) was well chosen as the name of this second Bosphorus. Pallas¹⁸ tells us, that that part of the Bosphorus which is occupied by the cluster of islands, still serves as the most convenient ford for horses and cattle, on account of the numerous shoals on which they can rest. The original signification of the word Βόσπορος is therefore still applicable to the Bosphorus Cimmerius.

Supposing by the words "Εἰσπλεύσαντι εἰς τὸν Κοροκονδαμήτιν," Strabo understands a navigator coming from the north through the Burlic, he tells us that this navigator has Phanagoria and Cepi to his left, which agrees exactly with the situation of these towns; and that Hermonassa and Apaturum Veneris are beyond the Hypanis, which is likewise correct. The only inconsistency would be, that in this case the latter towns were likewise to the left, and not to the right. Whatever his idea was, we are forced to admit that Strabo knew the exact position of Phanagoria; and every conjecture which does not start from this fact cannot be otherwise than erroneous.

¹⁸ Pag. 288-89 of the English Translation.

It can hardly be doubted that the ancients had some knowledge of the Burlic, the importance of which, however, was never equal to that of the Bosporus.

Arrian¹⁹, in mentioning the Bosporus Cimmerius, says:—"From Sindica to the Bosporus called Cimmerius, and to Panticapæum, a city of the Bosporus, there are 540 stadia. From Panticapæum to the river Tanais, which is said to divide Europe from Asia, there are 60 stadia. This river bursts forth from the Palus Mæotis and empties itself into the Euxine."—This passage has a striking analogy with the passage of Constantine; and the same questions which have been put above may be repeated here. Arrian distinguishes between the Bosporus and another channel which he calls Tanais, a name which was also applied to the whole Bosporus, as stated above. He does not give any description of the Bosporus, on the ground, as it seems, that this channel was too well known to require it. But as to the Tanais, he adds, that it is a channel by which the Mæotis flows into the Euxine, and that it divides Europe from Asia. The whole description applies so well to the Burlic, as to leave not the slightest doubt of their identity. Moreover, from Panticapæum to the mouth of the present bay of Taman there are exactly 60 stadia. Cellarius²⁰ apparently understood Arrian in this way, for in his map of Sarmatia there is a second channel, which he calls Bosporus Arriani. However, as he had no accurate knowledge of the country, he puts this second channel right across the island of Taman, and with both its mouths distinct from those of the Bosporus Cimmerius, which is an absolute impossibility.

Pomponius Mela²¹ gives further evidence, in a passage which has always been considered as extremely difficult, and concerning which Tzschukke has collected five pages of notes. We may choose between two readings.

1. "Obliqua tunc regio, et in latum modice patens, inter Pontum Paludemque ad Bosporum excurrit: *quam* duobus alveis in lacum et in mare profluens Corocondame (Corocondamam) pene insulam reddit²²." The only way of making this description

¹⁹ *Periplus*.

²⁰ *Notitia Orbis Antiqui*, i. p. 494.

²¹ i. 19. 21.

²² "*Quam*," Codd. Arundelianus, fol.

123, recto; Burneianus, fol. 16, recto;

Harleianus, fol. 8, recto; "*Coracanda*,"

Codd.

intelligible is to supply a nominative to the second sentence, and to read "quam fluvius (scil. Hypanis or Anticeita, that is, the Kuban), duobus alveis," &c. In this case the intention of Mela was to say that the said tract, which he calls Corocondama, was surrounded on all sides by the Mæotis, the Euxine, and two branches of the river Hypanis. But by saying either "pene insulam" or "peninsulam," two readings in which all the codices agree, Mela excludes every conjecture by which his peninsula could be changed into an island. He distinguishes between an island, and a peninsula, a part of this island, which he calls Corocondama.

2. "Obliqua tunc regio, et in latum modice patens inter Pontum Paludemque ad Bosporum excurrit: *qui* duobus alveis in lacum et in mare profluens, Corocondamam peninsulam reddit." A glance at the map will show that the south-western peninsula of Taman, on which the ancient town of Corocondama was situated, is formed by the bay of Taman in the north, the Bosporus in the west, and the Euxine in the south; this is the peninsula which Mela calls Corocondama. By "duobus alveis" Mela did not understand the two mouths of the Bosporus, the peninsula not being formed by the Bosporus and the Euxine alone. The two "alvei" are therefore two different channels, and not merely the two extremities of the same channel. One of the "alvei" being the Bosporus, the other, as I have shewn above, cannot but be the Burlic of Constantine. The lacus is of course the wider part of this channel, the Lacus Corocondametis of Strabo, and the present bay of Taman. We thus see that Mela, too, was acquainted with the existence of a second mouth of the Mæotis²³.

The fact of there having been two channels, leads to the natural

Codd. Arund. and Harl.; "Corocanda," Cod. Burn.

²³ This was already printed when I read the *Codex Hargravianus*, No. 399, in the Library of the British Museum, which is an English translation of Pomponius Mela, made in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. The translator was a very accurate scholar, whose name however is unknown. He translates the passage in question thus:—"There the region is crooked, and is but of smale

quantitie in bredde, and runneth forth betwyne Pontus and the poole (scil. Palus Mæotis) unto Bosphorus. *The* which flowyng by twyne two brenches into the lacke and the see maketh the peninsull Corocandamam."

One might imagine that the translator had, perhaps, a very accurate knowledge of the country, which enabled him to give a translation more consistent with what he believed to be the truth, than the original. In this, be it said, very

conclusion that there was a considerable island between them, and from a considerable island being mentioned in that place, we must conclude that it was separated from the country by two channels.

Strabo²⁴ says, that at a distance of 100 stadia or 11.5 English miles from the town of Tanais there was an island in the Mæotis by name of Alopecia, which was inhabited by people belonging to different nations. Ptolemy²⁵ says that this island was also called Tanais, and he puts it in 53° 30' lat. and 66° 30' long., that is, at 704 stadia, or nearly 81 miles south-west of the town of Tanais, which, according to him, is in 54° 30' lat. and 67° long. Pliny²⁶ also knows Alopecia, but says that it was situated within the Bosporus Cimmerius. With regard to the situation of the island, either both Strabo and Ptolemy, or Pliny, are wrong. As Alopecia was inhabited, it was not inconsiderable; which Strabo seems also to understand by adding, that there were several islands more in the Mæotis, but they were small (*ῥησῖδια*). There is no such island neither at 11 miles nor at 80 miles from Tanais; nor can we suppose that, if it existed, it had been drowned by the Mæotis; the general tendency of this sea having always been to create land, and not to swallow it up, a circumstance which attracted attention as early as the time of Polybius²⁷. We must therefore suppose that Pliny is right with regard to the position. Mannert is of this opinion; but, contrary to the description of Strabo, he thinks that Alopecia was the small, flat, and sandy island called Atech by Constantine Porphyrogeneta; a barren spot which has never been fit for any population at all. It is very probable that Alopecia was that island which was situated between the two channels, the Bosporus Cimmerius and the Burlic, and which now forms the north-western peninsula of Taman. This island was large and fertile enough to support a considerable population; and

improbable case, his "The which" would have been a conjecture, as is my "qui," scil. Bosporus. But there is a considerable number of maps in this codex, drawn and coloured, undoubtedly, by the translator himself; and his map of the Euxine and Palus Mæotis shows that he composed it according to the system of Ptolemy, and that his knowledge concerning the surrounding countries was

very imperfect. We can, therefore, only suppose that he translated from a Codex which had the reading "qui," which he carefully translated by "the which." This Codex has the first book divided into twenty-one chapters, and not into nineteen only. There is a great probability that this Codex is still in this country.

²⁴ Pag. 493.

²⁵ II. 5.

²⁶ IV. 26.

²⁷ IV. 39, 40.

as it was situated within the mouth of the Bosphorus, and near the rich commercial towns of Cimmerium, Panticapæum, and Phanagoria, there might have been a considerable number of strangers who flocked thither for the purpose of getting a livelihood by shipping and commerce. The error of Strabo and Ptolemy is not very difficult to explain. Their knowledge of the Mæotis was not very correct. Tanais was the name of the Don as well as of the Bosphorus; and it seems that these two geographers, having been told, or having read that there was a considerable island near the Tanais, put it towards the mouth of the Don, while Pliny, better informed, put it within the Bosphorus. Besides, the distance between the southern point of the peninsula which I suppose to be Alopecia, and the island of Atech, which lies exactly in the middle of the Bosphorus or Tanais, is nearly 12 miles, or 104 stadia, which corresponds very well to the 100 stadia of Strabo.

Constantine Porphyrogeneta also mentions a river called Ucruch, which separates the island of Tamatarcha from the country of Zichia or Circassia. Mannert has already mentioned the fact, which is evident enough, that this is the main branch of the Kuban. I add, that one of the largest tributaries of the Kuban still bears the name of Uruk, but not Urup, as it is written in many maps. The variety of names for the same river cannot surprise us in a country which has always been, and still is, inhabited by many nations of very different race and languages.

W. PLATE.

VI.

COMPARATIVE ETYMOLOGY.

THE advantages to a classical scholar of some knowledge of the Sanscrit and the other languages akin to the Greek and Latin, are now so generally admitted, that it would be needless to dwell upon them in this place. I therefore propose to give, from time to time, a few instances in which the etymology of Greek and Latin words is explained by the help of the Sanscrit and other languages of the Indo-Germanic family.

Cæsaries,

is usually connected with *cædo*, cut. This is the etymology given by Servius (*ad Virg. Æn.* i. 590) and the other ancient grammarians, and has been repeated by most modern writers. It seems however to be connected with the Sanscrit *kēsa*, "hair." The proper name *Cæsar* probably contains the same root, though this word also has been derived from *cædo*.

Inquam.

The root of *in-qua-m* appears to be *qua*, *in* being the preposition and *m* the sign of the first person. It is the same root as the Sanscrit *khyâ* "speak," and also appears in the Gothic *quithan* and the English *quoth*. It has nothing to do with the Greek $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, with which some writers connect it: $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ is clearly the same as the Latin *fa-ri*.

ἄνεμος, Animus, Anima.

The derivation of *ἄνεμος* from *ἄνιμι* scarcely deserves notice. A comparison of *ἄνεμος*, *an-imus*, *an-ima*, with one another, and with words of similar terminations, as *dom-inus*, would lead to the conclusion that *an* is the root. This root, which is not found in a simpler form in Latin and Greek, exists in Sanscrit, and is the verb which signifies, "to blow."

Putus.

This word means "pure," as may be seen in many passages. "Putum pro puro dixisse antiquos." (Festus, p. 217, ed. Müller). It seems to be a perfect participle from the root *pu*, which no longer occurs as a simple verb in Latin, but which still exists in Sanscrit, where *pā* signifies "to purify." The adjective *pu-rus* comes from the same root.

Ὀφρύς.

The root of *ὀφρύς* is *φρυ*, as appears from the Sanscrit *bhrá*, "an eyebrow," the old German *brawá*, and the English *brow*. The short *o* at the beginning will create no difficulty, if we bear in mind such words as *κέλλω* and *ὀκέλλω*, *ὄσταφίς*, *ἀσταφίς* and *σταφίς*, *ὀβελός* and *βέλος*, *ὀδύρομαι* and *δύρομαι*, *ὀδοός*, *ὀδόντος*, and *dens*, *dentis*, *ὀνομα* and *no-men*. In *ὀνύχ* also the *νη* seems to be the root, as we have the Sanscrit *nri* or *nar*, "a man." In the same manner the *ὀ* in *ὀνυξ*, *ὀνυχ-ος*, is no part of the root, as appears from the Sanscrit *nakha*, "a nail," the German *nagel*, and the English *nail*. In our language we have lost the guttural, as usual.

Πότνια,

which is frequently used in the sense of a "mistress," is the same as the Sanscrit *patnī*, "a mistress." There is also in Sanscrit the masculine form *pati*, "a master;" and both are derived from the root *pā*, "to defend" or "preserve." The latter part of *δεσ-πότης* and *δέσ-ποινα* also contains the same root.

Γαστήρ.

The root of *γαστήρ* would seem to be *ghas*, which does not occur in a simpler form in the Greek. It is found, however, as Bopp has remarked, in Sanscrit, in which *ghas* signifies "eat," and also appears in the Latin *gus-to*, the German *ge-gess-en* and *gas-t*, and the English *gues-t*.

WILLIAM SMITH.

VII.

ON THE MEANING AND ORIGIN OF THE
VERB *TO TIRL*.

AND when he came to the lady's chamber,
He thrild upon a pin.
The lady was true of her promise,
Rose up and let him in¹.

On this passage Percy remarks: "This is elsewhere expressed 'twirled the pin,' or 'tirl'd at the pin', (see Book II. s. 6. v. 3); and seems to refer to the turning round the button on the outside of a door, by which the latch rises, still used in cottages." Dr. Jamieson, in the Supplement to his Scotch Dictionary, has a similar observation on the same expression: "It has occurred to me (he says) that *to tirl at the pin*, is probably the same with the English *twirl*, 'to turn round, to move by a quick rotation.' This idea has been suggested by the notice in *Gl. Antiq.* '*Tirling at the door-pin*, twirling the handle of the latch.'"

If this was the meaning of the expression in question, we should expect the construction to be 'to tirl the pin,' not 'at the pin:' as in Chaucer—

When you list to riden any where,
Ye moten *trill a pin*, stant in his ere,
Which I shall tellen you betwixt us two².

And when ye come there, as you list abide,
Bid him descend, and *trill another pin*³.

Or if you list to bid him thennes gon,
Trille this pin, and he wol vanish anon
Out of the sight of every maner wight⁴.

It appears moreover from many passages, that to *thril* or to *tirl*, is *to knock*; and that the custom was to knock on the fastening of the door, which was the signal that the person outside wished to be admitted. If *to tirl at the pin* was simply to raise

¹ *Glasgerion*, v. 37. Percy's *Reliques*,
Vol. III. p. 47.

² *Canterbury Tales*, v. 10629-31.

³ *Ibid.* 10634-5. ⁴ *Ibid.* 10641-3.

or turn the latch, the person outside could have let himself in, which, as is evident from the passage in *Glasgerion*, and others which will be quoted, was *not* the case.

The following is the example referred to by Percy :

There came a ghost to Margaret's door,
With many a grievous grone ;
And aye he *tirled at the pin*,
But answer made she none⁵.

Which is well explained by the following passage from another ballad in the same collection :

And when he came to fair Margaret's bower,
He *knocked at the ring* :
And who so ready as her seven brethren
To let sweet William in⁶ ?

Where the person desirous to gain an entrance knocks on the metal ring, instead of the wooden pin.

This expression occurs frequently in the Scotch ballads, where its sense is equally obvious. Thus in the ballad of *Burd Helen* :

When he cam to the porter's yett,
He *tirled at the pin*,
And wha sae ready as the bauld porter
To open and let him in⁷ ?

Again, in the *Lass of Lochryan* :

And she's gane to the castle hie,
And *tirled at the pin* :
" Oh open, open, love Gregory,
Open, and let me in !"
Lang, lang *she knockit*, and sair she ca'd,
And lang she dreed the rain ;
Lang, lang *she knockit*, and sair she ca'd,
But answer got she nane⁸.

At length a person gets up, and after speaking to her, refuses to let her in.

⁵ *Sweet William's Ghost*, v. l. Percy,
Vol. III. p. 127.
Fair Margaret and Sweet William,

v. 41. Vol. III. p. 122.

⁷ Chambers' *Scottish Ballads*, p. 197.

⁸ Chambers, p. 228.

From the ballad of *Fair Janet* it likewise appears that the latch was raised by the person inside:

“O open, open, dear mother,
O open, and let me in:
For I hae my young son in my arms,
And I fear his days are dune.”
With her fingers sae lang and sma’
She lifted up the pin;
And with her arms sae lang and sma’
She took the babie in⁹.

Again, in *Young Huntin*:

When he came to his lady’s bower,
He tirl’d at the pin;
And wha sae ready as the lady hersell
To open and let him in¹⁰?

Nearly the same words occur in *Sir Roland*:

When he came to his ain luv’e’s bouir,
He tirl’d at the pin;
And sae ready was his fair fause luv’e
To rise and let him in¹¹.

In the ballad of *Young Johnston*, the person who tirls at the pin is immediately answered from within:

But he’s awa to his sister’s bouir,
And he’s tirl’d at the pin.
“Where hae you been, my dear brother,
Sae late o’ coming in¹²?”

In *Johnie Scot*, of a band of armed men:

But when they came to Earl Percy’s yett,
They tirl’d at the pin,
None was so ready as Earl Percy himsell
To open and let them in¹³.

Lady Marjorie:

When he came to Strawberry Castle,
He tirl’d at the pin:

Chambers, p. 249.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 262.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 250.

¹² Ibid. p. 264.

¹³ Motherwell’s *Ballads*, p. 206.

Nane was so ready as the gay lord himsell,
To open and let him in¹⁴.

The same traditional form of expression also occurs in more familiar songs. Thus in the song, "Saw ye my father, &c."

Up Johnie rose, and to the door he goes,
And gently tirl'd at the pin.
The lassie taking tent, unto the door she went,
And she opened and let him in¹⁵.

Likewise in the famous Jacobite song, "Charlie he's my darling:"

As he was walking up the street,
The city for to view,
O there he spied a bonnie lass,
The window looking thro'.
Sae lights he jumped up the stair,
And tirl'd at the pin,
And wha sae ready as herself
To let the laddie in¹⁶.

Also in the more serious, but modern song of *Donoght Head*:

Keen blows the wind ower Donoght Head,
The snaw drives snelly thro' the dale:
The gaberlunzie tirls my sneck,
And shivering tells his waefu' tale¹⁷.

The ballad of *Willie and May Margaret* is of itself sufficient to explain the meaning of this expression:

And he came to May Margaret's door
When all were fast asleep.
O he's gone round and round about,
And tirl'd at the pin;
But doors were steekit and windows barred,
And nane wad let him in.
"O open the door to me, Margaret,
O open and let me in."

¹⁴ Motherwell's *Ballads*, p. 236.

¹⁵ Chambers' *Scottish Songs*, II. 524.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 540.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 507.

She then asks who it is at her "bower door," and being told, refuses to let him in.

"O gin ye winna open the door,
Nor yet be kind to me,
Now tell me of some outchamber
Where I this night may be."

"Ye canna win in this nicht, Willie,
Nor here ye canna be¹⁸," &c.

The *bower*, mentioned in several of the above passages, is the lady's private apartment, and was necessarily secured by a fastening which could only be opened at the pleasure of its inmate. Besides this fastening, however, there appears to have been a latch, sufficient in the day-time to keep the door closed, which, whether it was on the inside or the outside, a person desirous of being admitted could shake or strike, so as to make a rattling noise.

In the ballad of *Johnie Scot*, the person who tirls is refused admittance, not however by his mistress, but by the porter:

He rode till he rode to Earl Percy's gate,
He tirl'd at the pin;
"O who is there?" said the proud porter,
"But I daurna let thee in."
It's he rode up and he rode down,
He rode the castle about;
Until he spied a fair ladie,
At a window looking out.

In the ballad of *Erlinton*¹⁹ the lover "chaps at the door," which is obviously an equivalent phrase to "tirling at the door."

She had na been i' that bigly bower,
Na not a night but barely one,
Till there was Willie, her ain true love,
Chapp'd at the door, cryin "Peace within!"
"O whae is this at my bower door,
That chaps sae late, or kens the gin²⁰?"

¹⁸ Chambers, p. 302.

¹⁹ Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy*, p. 353.
ed. 1833.

²⁰ *Gin*—the slight or contrivance necessary to open the door: from *engine*.

"O it is Willie, your ain true love,
I pray you rise and let me in!"

"But in my bower there is a wake,
And at the wake there is a wane²¹;
But I'll come to the greenwood the morn,
Whar blooms the brier, by morning dawn."

Then she's gone to her bed again, &c.

The meaning of *gin*, as applied to the latch of a door, is illustrated by a fragment of a song preserved in a MS. Scotch cantus, of the end of the 17th century:

Sing soft-a sing—soft-a;
Of our pins
Ye know the gins;
Ye tirl'd on them full oft-a²².

As the passages above quoted prove that *to thirl*, or *to tirl*, formerly meant *to tap*, or *to knock*, or *to make a noise*, it now becomes a question how this word acquired the sense which it manifestly bears. *Thyrel*, or *thyr*, in Anglo-Saxon, means an opening or hole; whence is formed the compound word *naesthyrl*, or nostril, exactly equivalent to the German *nasenloch*. From *thyr*, is derived the Anglo-Saxon verb *thyrhan*, to make a hole, to pierce: thus, in the Ode on the Battle of Brunanburh:

Hindan thearle
Mecum mycel scearpum,

that is, "they pierce the hind ones with very sharp swords." Chaucer uses *to thirl* in the same sense:

Al were they sore yhurt, and namely one,
That with a spere was thirled his brestbone²³.

His helm tohewin was in twentie places,
That by a tissue hong his back behinde:
His shelde todashed with swerdis and with maces,
In whiche men might many an arowe finde,
That thirled had both horne and nerfe and rinde²⁴.

²¹ *Wane*—a number of people.

²² *Chambers' Songs*, Vol. I. p. XL.

²³ *Canterbury Tales*, v. 2711.

²⁴ *Troilus and Creseide*, book ii. v. 638-42.

Spencer often uses *to thrill* (which is the same word as *to thirl*) for *to pierce*, both in a literal and a figurative sense²⁵. The same application of this word frequently occurs in our older writers. Thus, in the *Question* by Lord Vaux:

Where Thought hath thrill'd and thrown his spear,
To hurt the heart that harmed him not²⁶.

So in Shakspeare:—

A servant that he bred, thrill'd with remorse,
Opposed against the act²⁷.

To thirl or *thril*, likewise had the sense of perforating, piercing, and wounding, in Scotch. The ancient Roman wall between England and Scotland was called *thrilwall*, *thirlwall*, or *thirlitwall*, on account of the number of gaps in it: Fordun, who thus explains the origin of the name, gives as its Latin translation *murus perforatus*²⁸. From this word has been derived the northern family-name *Thirlwall*: *Thirlestane*, a Scotch proper name, is a similar compound²⁹.

Hence comes the common expression of *drilling a hole*, and a *drill*, a carpenter's tool for making a hole: which the Germans have also preserved in their verb *drillen*, and substantive *drillbohrer*. *Throll*, explained in an old Scotch glossary to mean "a hole made by drilling or boring," is used by Douglas³⁰. The same is the origin of a *drill*, in the sense of a groove or channel sunk in wood, (see Adelung, in *dralle*): in like manner, a drill (whence the expression drill-husbandry) is a wooden cylinder in which grooves are drilled for distributing the seed. From the sense of a channel, was derived the use of *drill*, to signify a stream or brook: whence is obtained the sense of flowing or trickling, which Chaucer gives to the verb *to trill*:

And up I arose, and all our convent eke,
With many a tere trilling on our cheke³¹.

²⁵ See Todd on *F. Q.* III. ii. 32, and Sonnet 36.

²⁶ Ellis's *Specimens of Early Poets*, Vol. II. p. 90. ²⁷ *Lear*, Act. iv. Sc. 2.

²⁸ Jamieson, in *thirlwall*; and Scott's

Minstrelsy, Vol. II. p. 103.

²⁹ See *Marmion*, canto i. note 12. *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto iv. note 10.

³⁰ Jamieson, in v.

³¹ *Canterbury Tales*, v. 7446.

And whan this abbot had this wonder sein,
His salte teres trilled adown as reyne³².

It occurs in the same sense in Shakspeare:

And now and then an ample tear trill'd down
Her delicate cheek³³.

The origin of the phrase *to drill*, as applied to the exercise of soldiers, is explained by Wachter, as follows: "*Trillen* metaphorice significat *vexare*, *exagitare*, ducta similitudine a rebus quæ circumaguntur... Ab hoc significato habemus *trillen*, *trillmeister* campiductor, qui milites exercendo fatigat, *leutetriller*, exactor, angariator, &c." It may be observed, that in English, *to bore* has, by a change of meaning exactly analogous, acquired the sense of wearying and annoying: the French *scier*, to saw, has likewise obtained the same signification by a similar metaphor. The following passage of Lord Byron illustrates this meaning of the verb *drill*:

I abhorred
Too much to conquer for the poet's sake
The drill'd dull lesson forced down word by word
In my repugnant youth, with pleasure to record
Aught that recals the daily drug which turned
My sickening memory³⁴.

Jamieson gives the following senses of the Scottish verb, *to dirle*, "*v. a.* to pierce, to penetrate; *v. n.* 1. to tingle, to thrill. It denotes the pain felt in consequence of a smart stroke, or of extreme cold. 2. to vibrate, to emit a tingling sound proceeding from a tremulous motion, as '*he struck the table till it aw dirled.*'" *To tirl*, he explains by, *to thrill*, and he afterwards

³² *Canterbury Tales*, 13603.

³³ *Lear*, Act. iv. sc. 3. This word has a similar sense among the peasants of the Jura, who doubtless derived it from some Teutonic language. "*Drille*, *s. f.* *Diarrhée*. On en a fait un verbe: *driller*, avoir le dévoiement." Monnier, *Vocabulaire de la Langue rustique et populaire du Jura*, reprinted in *Mélanges sur les Langues, Dialectes et Patois* (Paris,

1831), p. 82. "*Driller*, s'enfuir avec précipitation, mener une mauvaise conduite." "*Drille*, coureur, vagabond, débauché," occur in Roquefort's *Glossary of the Old French Language*. The change of meaning from *rapid flight* to an irregular life, in which a man *outruns* his means, is also perceivable in the word *profligate*.

³⁴ *Childe Harold*, iv. 75-6.

gives the interpretation of *tirling at the pin*, which has been before cited.

From these statements, it appears to me that the various meanings of the verb *to thirl*, *to thril*, *to dirl*, *to drill*, and *to tirl*, may be arranged thus:

1. To make a hole, to pierce, from *thyr*, a hole. 2. Transferred to the sense of touch, in the same manner as we speak of *shooting*, of *acute*, and, in medical language, of *lancinating* pains. 3. Transferred to the sense of hearing, analogous to the expressions, piercing sound, sharp sound, acute sound, penetrating sound. Thus Crashaw, in his *Music's Duel*, says of the nightingale:

Her supple breast trills out

Sharp airs.

And in the beautiful verses of Milton:

See there the olive-grove of Academe,

Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird

Trills her thick warbled notes the summer long³⁵.

So Lord Hume says in *Kenilworth*: "I would, man, thou couldst make the mad lady be still yonder; for her moans do sae dirl through my head, that I would rather keep watch on a snow drift in the wastes of Catlowdie³⁶." 4. When this word had once been applied to a particular kind of sounds, its signification was easily extended to all sounds; and hence, *to tirl* or *to dirl*, meant generally to make a noise. This is its sense in the passages of old English and Scotch ballads above quoted. So Dr. Willan³⁷ states, that in the provincial dialect of Yorkshire, "to tirl" means "to make a slight scratching noise;" and Dr. Jamieson explains *dirling* to be "the sound caused by reiterated strokes on the ground or on a floor," quoting a passage in which it is said, that the brownie keeps the servants awake with "the *noisy dirling* of its elfin flail³⁸." It is observable, moreover, that the Italian *trillo*,

³⁵ *Par. Reg.* iv. 244.

³⁶ *Kenilworth*, Vol. II. ch. 18.

³⁷ *Archæologia*, Vol. xvii. p. 161.

³⁸ It is remarkable that in Spanish *trillo* signifies a flail, and *trillar* to thresh, whence it has acquired the sense of fre-

quenting; as we say, a *beaten* road. It is possible, however, that *trillar* may be a frequentive formed from *triturum* the supine of *tero*, (i. e. tritolar), like *ventilare* from *ventum*, &c.

"O it is Willie, your ain true love,
I pray you rise and let me in!"

"But in my bower there is a wake,
And at the wake there is a wane²¹;
But I'll come to the greenwood the morn,
Whar blooms the brier, by morning dawn."

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²¹ *Wane*—a number of people.

²² Chambers' *Songs*, Vol. I. p. XL.

²³ *Canterbury Tales*, v. 2711.

²⁴ *Troilus and Creseide*, book ii. v.
638-42.

The French *trou* likewise appears to be a word of this class: Caseneuve (in Menage, *Etym. Fr.* in v.) derives it from *traugus*, a low Latin form, stating that *traug* was still current in Languedoc. The modern Provençal form is *traou*; *traucar* however occurs as a verb in the Troubadour poetry. Nevertheless, as the forms *tral* and *traul* occur in old French, (Roquefort in v.) it seems to me most probable that *tral* is the original form derived from the German *drille* or *dralle*, which became first *traou*, (as in modern Provençal,) and then *trou*; and that the *c* or *g* is a formative letter, and does not belong to the root. The Italian *torlo* or *tuorlo*, the yolk of an egg; the Low Latin *trullus*, a round building, with an arched ceiling or roof, and *torus*, a round hill, (Ducange in vv.), probably belong to the same root; the notion of roundness being easily derived from that of drilling or turning.

The Scotch has the substantive *thryll* or *thirl*, the verb *to thryll*, or to *thirl*, and the derived substantives *thryllage*, or *thirlage*, and *thirldom*, corresponding to the English *thrall*, *to enthrall*, and *thrall-dom*. These words having in Scotch originally signified slavery, in process of time came to mean the obligation imposed on the occupants of certain lands to grind their corn at a particular mill⁴¹. Percy has suggested that the words in question have their origin in the custom of boring the ears of slaves, mentioned in Exodus xxi. 6. (comp. Grimm *D. Rechtsalt.* 339). It appears to me, however, that these must be referred to a very different source. The Anglo-Saxon *threal* or *thrall*, a slave, is evidently derived from *threa*, *pæna*, *afflictio*: whence the English *throe*, and the Scotch *thraw*. *Threal* is stated by Lye to mean not only *servus*, but also *disciplina*, *correctio*, shewing plainly the connexion with *threa*. It cannot, I fear, be doubted that pain and affliction were far more invariable concomitants, and more remarkable characteristics of the state of bondage in the Saxon times, than any practice of boring the ears, even if such a custom could be proved to have been formerly prevalent in England and Scotland. Grimm, in his *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 303, speaking of *thrall*, which also occurs in the Scandinavian dialects, says only, that its origin is obscure, and he com-

⁴¹ Jamieson in vv. W. Scott's *Monastery*, Vol. II. ch. I.

And whan this abbot had this wonder sein,
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³⁴ *Childe Harold*, IV. 75-6.

VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE number of the *Westminster Review* for last May, (No. 77) contains an article on *Grecian Legends and Early History*, which is understood to have been written by Mr. Grote. The writer is induced, by the appearance of the little collection of Greek heroic legends, prepared by Niebuhr for his son Marcus, to expound at length the chief characteristics of the mythology, as opposed to the history of Greece, and to state the marks by which the mythical may be distinguished from the historical period.

He begins by shewing that the mythus is essentially fictitious; that it differs in its essence not only from *accurate* and *well-ascertained*, but also from *inaccurate* and *ill-ascertained* history. It can be traced to no determinate and authentic origin; it flies through the mouths of men, and gains strength and credit by diffusion; but if you ask after its source, you must be told, in Homeric language, that "it has been suggested by some god, or the airy-tongued Ossa, the bearer of encouragement and intelligence from omniloquent Zeus."

Mr. Grote proceeds to explain the difference between a period when the habit of ascertaining positive matter of fact by collecting and examining evidence has been formed, and a period when, not only the recording of facts by writing is unknown or unpractised, but no desire of obtaining authentic memorials of the past or present exists. But although a community in the latter state has no *knowledge* of its history, it has *feelings*, both fervent and universal, with respect to the past. These feelings are connected with its religion, with its belief as to the divine and heroic beings who sway its actual destinies. Such being the state of mind of the early Greeks, nothing was needed for the creation of a body of legends, in a form which was likely to give them permanency, but the appearance of some men richly endowed with the poetical faculty. To the existence of the wonderful genius of Homer at the time when he arose, and of the epic poets who were able to imitate his style, as well as to the extraordinary beauty, copiousness, and flexibility of the language in which they composed, we mainly owe the formation and preservation of the body of narratives which constitute the Greek mythology. The feelings with which the Homeric poems were regarded by the contemporary Greeks are well described in the following passage:—

"Transporting ourselves back to this early period, near to the time when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* seem to have been first promulgated, there

which is evidently not of Roman origin, but derived from Teutonic *drille* or *trille*, is applied to a particular successive musical notes, and therefore affords another instance of transfer of the word in question to the sense of hearing. In *trillo*, have been borrowed the French *trille*, and the English *trill*, for which musical term we are doubtless indebted to Italian, although we have the word whence it came into language.

Adelung says that *drillen* is the frequentative of *drehen* turn, for *drehelen*. Nevertheless, he compares it, among corresponding forms in Teutonic languages, with the Anglo-Saxon *thyrlian*, which is evidently derived from *thyrl*, a hole or opening. This word *thyrel*, or *thyrl*, as Adelung himself elsewhere remarks (in *thür*), is, however, formed from *thyr*, by the addition of suffix *el*; and *thyr* is allied to the Anglo-Saxon *dur*, the old German *tur*, the Greek *θύρα*, and the Latin *turo*, which verb is discernible in the compounds *obturo*, to shut, and *returo*, to open. The same radical form may likewise be discerned in *durh* Anglo-Saxon, and *durch* German; from the latter of which is derived the adjective *dürchel*, pierced, which occurs in the *Nibelungen*. According to this explanation, the sense of turning, which sometimes belongs to *drillen*, *drill*, and *tirl*, would be accounted for by the rotatory movement of a drill in piercing a hole³⁹: it is not impossible that *to twirl* may be a word belonging to the same class: it seems, however, preferable to refer the various forms of the verb, *thirl*, to the primary sense of piercing, immediately flowing from the root *tur*, which occurs under so many forms in the languages of the Hellenic-Teutonic family.

The Teutonic languages have other words which may be referred to this radical form: thus, *thorn* Anglo-Saxon and English, *dorn* German, has the sense of piercing: *throta* Anglo-Saxon, *throat* English, (whence *throttle* English, and *throppill* or *thrope* Scotch,) properly signify the gullet or windpipe, a perforated

³⁹ The Italian has the verb *turare*, to shut; but whether retained from the ancient uncompounded form, or corrupted from *obturare*, seems uncertain.

⁴⁰ *To troll* means to turn or roll; see Richardson in v. *To troll the bowl*, was

to pass the vessel about in drinking; the old catch begins:—

Trole, trole the bowl to me,
And I will trole the same again to thee.
Dodsley's *Old Plays*, Vol. II. p. 21. 2.

The French *trou* likewise appears to be a word of this class: Caseneuve (in Menage, *Etym. Fr.* in v.) derives it from *traugus*, a low Latin form, stating that *traug* was still current in Languedoc. The modern Provençal form is *traou*; *traucar* however occurs as a verb in the Troubadour poetry. Nevertheless, as the forms *tral* and *traul* occur in old French, (Roquefort in v.) it seems to me most probable that *tral* is the original form derived from the German *drille* or *dralle*, which became first *traou*, (as in modern Provençal,) and then *trou*; and that the *c* or *g* is a formative letter, and does not belong to the root. The Italian *torlo* or *tuorlo*, the yolk of an egg; the Low Latin *trullus*, a round building, with an arched ceiling or roof, and *torus*, a round hill, (Ducange in vv.), probably belong to the same root; the notion of roundness being easily derived from that of drilling or turning.

The Scotch has the substantive *thryll* or *thirl*, the verb *to thryll*, or to *thirl*, and the derived substantives *thryllage*, or *thirlage*, and *thirldom*, corresponding to the English *thrall*, *to enthrall*, and *thrall-dom*. These words having in Scotch originally signified slavery, in process of time came to mean the obligation imposed on the occupants of certain lands to grind their corn at a particular mill⁴¹. Percy has suggested that the words in question have their origin in the custom of boring the ears of slaves, mentioned in Exodus xxi. 6. (comp. Grimm *D. Rechtsalt.* 339). It appears to me, however, that these must be referred to a very different source. The Anglo-Saxon *threal* or *thrall*, a slave, is evidently derived from *threa*, *pœna*, *afflictio*: whence the English *throe*, and the Scotch *thraw*. *Threal* is stated by Lye to mean not only *servus*, but also *disciplina*, *correctio*, shewing plainly the connexion with *threa*. It cannot, I fear, be doubted that pain and affliction were far more invariable concomitants, and more remarkable characteristics of the state of bondage in the Saxon times, than any practice of boring the ears, even if such a custom could be proved to have been formerly prevalent in England and Scotland. Grimm, in his *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 303, speaking of *thrall*, which also occurs in the Scandinavian dialects, says only, that its origin is obscure, and he com-

⁴¹ Jamieson in vv. W. Scott's *Monastery*, Vol. 11. ch. 1.

pares *τράλλεις*, Thracian mercenaries and slaves, but without shewing that the resemblance of form is not a mere accident.

The Greek language has an extensive class of words allied to the same root as *θύρα*, which have the sense of piercing and also drilling: from *τορέω* are formed, by contraction and derivation, *τρέω*, *τραίνω*, (*Odyssey*, ψ. 198,) *τέρετρον*, *τερηδών*, *τορός*, *τορεύω*, and *τόρνος*. From *τρύω* are formed *τρυπᾶω* and *τρίπανον*, whence the Low Latin *trepannus*; in Italian, *trapano*; in Spanish, *trepano*. It should be observed, that *τρύω* acquired the sense of wearying and vexing, like the English *bore*, and the German *tril-len*: it bears this sense in the compound adjectives, *τρυσίβιος*, used by Aristophanes, *Nub.* 420, Kuster., and *τρυσανῶρ*, used by Sophocles, *Phil.* 208, Brunck. *ἄτρυνος* likewise signified unwearied; and *τρύσις*, *νόσος*, *πόνος*, occurs in Hesychius in v. From this coincidence of significations, it might seem that the Greek *τεῖρω*, the Latin *durus*, the Anglo-Saxon *teorian* (to tire), and *threa*, have an affinity to the same root. But this affinity, even if it should be thought to exist, does not affect the question of the etymology of *threal*, a slave, which has evidently no *direct* connexion with the sense of piercing or perforating.

G. C. LEWIS.

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There is much valuable matter in this article, to which we have scarcely been able to allude; but before we conclude we will remark that the small bronze statue of a man sitting upon a dolphin, offered by Arion at Tænarum, which Herodotus mentions, and, perhaps, had seen (i. 23), was probably the origin of the mythus above mentioned. Müller, in his *History of Greek Literature* (ch. 14, § 7, note), conjectures that this statue represented Taras sitting on a dolphin, as he appears on the coins of Tarentum. It will be observed that Arion is supposed to have been sailing from Tarentum to Corinth when the adventure of the dolphin occurred.

THE PUBLIC ECONOMY OF ATHENS; to which is added a Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurion. By Augustus Boeckh, Professor in the University of Berlin; translated by George Cornwall Lewis, Esq., A.M. late Student of Christ Church. Second Edit. Revised. London: Parker, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 688.

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is every reason to presume that these poems were listened to as something much greater and more sacred than poems in the modern sense of the word. They were accepted as inspired legends, describing events which had really taken place in a distant past; and they were believed quite as literally as the history of Herodotus 400 years afterwards, when he recited it at the Olympic games. To a modern reader this idea may seem extravagant; much as he may admire these productions as poems, as real histories they will appear to him absurd: the line between fact and fiction is clearly drawn in his mind, and the inspiration of the poet has long ceased to be anything beyond an unmeaning phrase. But with the early hearers of the *Iliad*, both the point of view, and the preliminary state of mind, were essentially different. What was there to induce them to treat descriptions conveyed to them in the most vivid narrative poetry ever poured into human ears, as a pure invention? or to draw the distinction between a basis of truth and a superstructure of poetical ornament? one or other of these they must do, if we reject the supposition of entire faith in what they heard; both of them are at variance as well with the capacities as with the inclinations of an age neither able nor willing to discriminate between authenticated truth and plausible fiction. Inspiration from the Gods or from the Muse, coming upon the poet so as to reveal to him either the past or the future, is with them a belief both sincere and familiar; the course of nature, as they conceive it, is something not positive and regular, but subject to perpetual jerks and breaks, and modified incessantly by the special intervention of a god or a hero. And those portions of the *Iliad* which, to our view, divest it so much of the semblance of matter of fact—the repetition of superhuman agency and miracles—these phenomena were not only thoroughly consonant to their general belief as to the past, but were by far the most impressive and predominant of the whole, sinking deeper into the mind, and raising emotions more powerful, than the rest: insomuch that the subtraction of such phenomena, far from procuring for the narrative a more unhesitating assent, would have rendered it at once less plausible to their reason, and less affecting to their feelings.”

It is then shewn, that although these were the feelings with which the early epic poems, and the narratives which they contained, were regarded by contemporary audiences, a great change in the belief of the Greeks with respect to their mythology took place in the 300 years which intervened between the first Olympiad and the century of Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Thucydides. In the first place, the multiplication and modification of the legends, from various causes, and the subsequent attempts to collect and arrange them in prose works, brought their irreconcilable discrepancies and inconsistencies to light, and weakened the old undoubting faith in

their truth. Hence Hecataeus in the first generation after the commencement of prose-writing declared as follows:—"Thus saith Hecataeus the Milesian: the fables of the Greeks are many and ridiculous, &c." Secondly, the political and moral condition of the Greeks was improved, and the notions of the gods and heroes involved in the old mythi became repugnant to the better morality of later times. In the third place, "between the century of Homer and that of Thucydides the habit grew up of recording and connecting positive and present facts, and of determining authentic chronology. There was thus gradually created, among the superior minds, what may be called an *historical sense*—a habit of requiring positive evidence, and of distinguishing the certified truth from the uncertified though plausible supposition, of acknowledging a regular course of nature, and not looking beyond or above it for an explanation of particular phenomena. The intellectual dispositions suitable to an historiographer, in regard to present or recent events, exist to the utmost perfection in Thucydides: nothing greater or better of its kind has been produced, even to this day, than his history."

Although these causes, in their combination, were inconsistent with the continuance of the childlike faith of the early period, yet it was scarcely possible, even for the most consistently logical Greek, to reject all the legends which his ancestors had received as true, to disconnect himself with the religion and ancient history of his country, and, moreover, to treat with apparent disrespect the poems of Homer, for which every educated Greek had almost a religious veneration. "The result was (as Mr. Grote observes) a new impulse, partaking of both the discordant forces, one of those thousand unconscious compromises between the rational convictions of the mature man and the indelible illusions of early faith, religious as well as patriotic, which human affairs are so often destined to exhibit—*γινόμενα μὲν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ*." Mr. Grote proceeds to explain, with much perspicuity and aptitude of illustration, how this compromise was effected.

Whatever might be the peculiar bent of the person's mind, all agreed in holding that the *apparent* was not the true *meaning* of the legend. The supernatural and marvellous part was to be removed, and a nucleus of positive fact was to be discovered by *some* process of interpretation. Men of philosophical tendency perceived latent truths in physics beneath the covering of the ancient mythus; while the historical enquirer found in it mere ordinary matter of fact, incrustated with supernatural incidents. The latter process was most in fashion, and was systematically pursued by such historians as Ephorus, Diodorus, and Dionysius, after Thucydides had set the example of treating the history of the Trojan war upon rationalist principles, by a substitution of the genuine historical facts for the poetical incidents preferred by Homer.

Our space does not allow us to dwell on the examples of this process of converting fiction into history which Mr. Grote presents; and we will simply add his general characteristic of the (so-called) early history of Greece. After indicating the causes to which the poetical legends of the Trojan war, the Argonautic voyage, the hunt of the Calydonian boar, &c. &c., appear to owe their origin, he remarks: "It is from the aggregate of myths, such as these, that what is called the history of Greece, prior to the commencement of the Olympiads, has been made out. In respect of beauty of incident and genius of combination, there are very great differences between these various legends: in respect of evidence, homogeneous origin, and common influence over Grecian sentiment, they are all in the main alike. They constitute the heroic antiquities of Greece, a world completely distinct from the world of historical fact, and connected with it only by that thread of genealogy which the great families in every Grecian community prided themselves in tracing up to the heroes and the gods."

But although the mythical world is essentially unreal, there is between the purely historical and the purely mythical period an age which is neither exclusively mythical nor exclusively historical, and in which real events and persons occur, mixed with mythical fictions. This is the *mythico-historical* period; as an example of which Mr. Grote cites the story of Arion and the dolphin, as related by Herodotus. Arion and Periander are real persons; and, moreover, the fact of Arion having been a celebrated citharist and dithyrambic poet, is well established by authentic testimony. But the marvellous story of the dolphin grew out of the admiration of the Greeks for the musical and poetical genius of Arion, and was a mere fiction. "We have here then (says Mr. Grote) a perfect mythus, but tacked on to an historical fact and an historical person—a mythico-historical incident. Now it appears to us, that the mistake so commonly made, in regard to the Grecian early legends, consists in dealing with the Trojan war and the Argonautic expedition in the same way as we deal with this story of Arion, in seeking a basis of fact for the two former, as we successfully do for the latter. There is this essential difference between the two. In regard to the Trojan war and the Argonautic expedition, the legend stands alone, professing only to refer to an undefined past time: there is no collateral evidence of any kind to corroborate either its incidents or the reality of its personal characters. But in the case of Arion, we know the existence, the celebrity, and the date of the poet, upon evidence quite independent of the legend; if we affirm that the legend has an historical basis, we do not ground our affirmation on the single certificate of the legend itself. . . . A certain number of *the plays* of Shakspeare have an historical basis. How do we know

this. Not upon the testimony of Shakspeare himself, or of these particular plays themselves, but upon positive testimony, independent both of the one and the other. Any play for which you cannot, by some independent evidence, demonstrate an historical basis, passes *ipso facto* as non-historical. Apply the same test to the early Grecian poems, and we exact no more."

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in the first edition of the translation. The author in the original work inserted a collection of inscriptions, which have since been published in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*. Mr. Lewis has omitted these inscriptions from his translation, and has always referred to the numbers in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, which will be of considerable use to the student.

THE HISTORY OF ROME, by B. G. Niebuhr; translated by William Smith, Ph. D., and Leonhard Schmitz, Ph. D. Third Volume. London: Taylor and Walton, 1842. pp. 717.

WE have to congratulate our readers that the translation of the third volume of Niebuhr's Roman History has at length appeared. The translators have added a very copious Index [to the three volumes, which will prove invaluable to the student of Niebuhr. The present volume only goes down to the first Punic war, and is unfortunately all of his great work that Niebuhr lived to complete; but we are glad to perceive that Dr. Schmitz, one of the translators of the third volume, has announced a fourth to be published in the course of this year, containing a course of Lectures by Niebuhr on the History of Rome, from the first Punic war down to the time of Constantine. "These Lectures," we are told, "were delivered by Niebuhr, in the years 1828 and 1829, in the University of Bonn, where the editor, then a pupil of the historian, took them down in short-hand notes for his own private use. These notes have been carefully revised and compared with the manuscript notes made by others at the same time, and their translation and publication have been undertaken by Dr. Schmitz, at the request and with the sanction of distinguished friends of Niebuhr, both in this country and in Germany." We look forward with great interest to the publication of this volume, since every reader of the volumes already published must be anxious to obtain the advantage of Niebuhr's guidance through the most important period of Roman History.

OBSERVATIONES CRITICÆ IN PLATONIS COMICI RELIQUIAS, scripsit C. G. Cobet. Amstelodami, 1840. 8vo.

THIS little volume gives a great deal more than its title promises. It is divided into four chapters, the first of which contains a brief account of the history of the Attic Comedy; not so much with a view of giving a complete history of the rise and growth of the comic stage at Athens, as of clearing up some points in it, which have hitherto been little or imperfectly understood. One of these points is the meaning of the law (*ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κομῶδειν*), which was carried at Athens

in Olymp. 85. 1, and remained in force for three years. The import of this law is satisfactorily explained, and we could only wish that it was done in a somewhat briefer and conciser manner. In the second chapter (p. 55), he arrives at the real subject of his dissertation, and endeavours to refute the opinions of those who see in the fragments of Plato symptoms of the decline of the pure Attic language, and to vindicate the poet from the charge of plagiarism. The chapter concludes with a critical examination of the relation which existed between Aristophanes and Plato. In the third chapter M. Cobet gives an account of the nature and development of the middle comedy, as it is called, and then proceeds to amend and explain some fragments of the comedies of Plato. This last subject is continued in the fourth chapter. The whole little volume is full of important information, and forms a very valuable contribution to the history of the Attic comedy.

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES IN ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA, CHALDEA, AND ARMENIA, by W. T. Ainsworth. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Parker, 1842.

THE author after having accompanied Colonel Chesney on his memorable Euphrates expedition, was chosen by the Royal Geographical Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to make a second tour through Asia Minor, &c., for two purposes,—he was first to inquire into the social and religious state of the Christian tribes in Chaldea, and secondly, to examine different localities renowned in ancient times, and of which we have now but little accurate knowledge. Mr. Ainsworth was accompanied by Mr. Rassam, a Chaldean, now Her Majesty's consul at Mosul, and Mr. Russel, a mathematician, who has become known since the expedition of Colonel Chesney. The author left London in 1838, and travelled in the above-mentioned countries till 1841. His work is a lively and spirited journal, and the description of the battle of Nizib, at which the author was present as a spectator, and in consequence of which he was obliged to retreat to Constantinople, is a highly interesting picture of modern warfare in the East. His statements on the Chaldean Christians deserve to be read by all those who are anxious to have some positive information about fellow-believers whose creed and ecclesiastical institutions appear to have not deviated from the simplicity of the primitive Christian Church.

As to the commission which the author had received from the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Ainsworth has already given an account of the greater part of his geographical and historical investigations in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. The most interesting subjects connected with ancient history and geography, which occur in his work are,—the tomb of Hannibal at Libyssa

(Libissa), or at Malsum, according to Colonel Leake; the identity of Pompeiopolis with the present town of Tash Kupri, which the author endeavours to prove by an ancient Greek inscription, of which, however he gives only a translation; Arka, the ancient Arcas; the Roman roads in the Taurus; tombs of the kings of Pontus near Amasia; Samsun, the ancient Amisus; Chertesh, the ancient Antoniopolis; Boli, the ancient Hadrianopolis; Misis, the ancient Mopsuestia; ruins of Nineveh; part of the course of the Kizil Jrmak, the ancient Halys, &c. All these sketches are of considerable interest.

That part of the author's investigation which has not been communicated to the Royal Geographical Society, relates to the country between Mosul and Trebizond, where Mr. Ainsworth found a German student (?), who was residing there solely for the purpose of illustrating the history of that ancient and interesting town; the passes of Xenophon across the Carduchian Mountains; the discussion regarding the eastern tributaries of the Tigris; and the site of Tigranocerta. The author thinks that this town was on the place of the present Diyárbekr, and not at Seert. However, as he only gives some general considerations, we cannot enter here into this difficult but highly important and interesting subject, nor can we tell whether Mr. Ainsworth has succeeded in deciding the question. He has promised to treat on these different historical and geographical questions in a separate work, which would certainly be of great interest and value if it should give us the scientific developement of the author's sketches. A great part of Asia Minor is still a virgin country; and we wish most sincerely that many a traveller may succeed in winning a bride there as brilliant in classical beauty as the Lycian bride of Mr. Fellows.

A LEXICON TO ÆSCHYLUS, containing a critical explanation of the more difficult passages in the seven tragedies. By the Rev. William Linwood, M.A., M.R.A.S., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, London: Taylor and Walton, 1843. pp. 364.

THE advantage of separate Lexicons to Greek authors is so great to the student, that we are glad to have another accession to our present stock. The Lexicons of Sturz to Xenophon, of Schweighäuser to Herodotus and Polybius, of Ellendt to Sophocles, of Ast to Plato, and of Damm to Homer, though of different degrees of merit, have been found to be so useful, that we are surprised we have not had, before now, a Lexicon to Æschylus. The Lexicon of Wellauer is hardly any thing more than an index, and rarely gives an explanation of passages. The very recent publication of Mr. Linwood's Lexicon has not enabled us to *examine* it with that attention we could have wished; but we have

referred to it in several cases, and have found his remarks characterised by good sense and sound scholarship. In one or two instances which we have looked at we are disposed to give a different interpretation from Mr. Linwood, which we may, perhaps, have an opportunity of stating in a future number of the *Museum*; but meantime we have much pleasure in recommending the work to the notice of students, who will derive very great assistance from it in the study of *Æschylus*. We very much regret that Mr. Linwood has not given the etymology of the words of less frequent occurrence, more especially as much progress has been made in linguistic science since the publication of Bp. Bloomfield's glossaries, and many of his etymologies require correction.

Three indexes are given at the end of the work; one, of the most important various readings; a second, of the more difficult passages of which a full explanation is given in the *Lexicon*; and a third, of some of the words and syntactical usages explained in the work.

DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.

Edited by William Smith, LL.D., Ph. D. Part I., from *ABACUS* to *ALEXIS*; Part II., from *ALEXIS* to *ARBOREIUS*. London: Taylor and Walton, 1843. 8vo.

The work which we have here the pleasure of announcing to our readers, is the second of a series which, when completed, will form an *Encyclopædia* of classical antiquity, such as no nation yet possesses: it will be as useful to the student as it will be welcome to the advanced scholar as a book of reference. So far as we can judge from the first two parts of this volume—will *one* volume contain the almost endless mass of materials?—the work differs in several points from all similar ones; first, by carrying the history and literature of Greece down to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453; secondly, by giving greater prominence to the literature and the writers of antiquity than is usually done in works of this kind; and thirdly, by incorporating the early ecclesiastical writers also, which must render the book a valuable help to theological students. The political characters of Greece and Rome are judiciously treated with comparative brevity; while the discussions on authors and their works—though without transgressing the bounds of necessary conciseness—bring forth every point of any importance, and thus fill a great deficiency in English literature, which, to this day, does not yet possess a complete history either of Greek or Roman literature. The mythology, to which in other works of a similar kind an undue prominence is given, either by repeating all the unmeaning stories found in later writers, or by

indulging in speculations and fanciful explanations of the ancient legends, is treated here with the greatest possible brevity, without any thing of importance being omitted. The illustrations too deserve a word of commendation: they consist of coins; and the editor has selected chiefly such as give the portrait of the person treated of in the article to which they are annexed, and all the engravings are taken from coins in the British Museum. We questioned above the possibility of getting all the endless materials which the work must embrace into one volume; and we may be pardoned in conclusion for entreating both the editor and the publishers not to sacrifice the character or completeness of the work in any way for the mere purpose of not going beyond the limits of one volume. The reward which the editor and publishers deserve for their great undertaking are sure to follow, if the work is completed in the same spirit in which it has been begun.

Many of our readers are doubtless aware that Mr. Frere, whose literary celebrity dates from the time of the *Antijacobin*, has recently printed at Malta translations of certain plays of Aristophanes, and of portions of the gnomic poetry of Theognis. We propose to give in our next number an account of these excellent and highly successful versions, which, in our opinion, are quite worthy of Mr. Frere's reputation.

We are sorry that our space does not permit us, in this number of the Museum, to give some account of Mr. Macauley's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, but we hope to have an opportunity of discussing in our next number those interesting and masterly productions at some length.

IX.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

WE are happy to inform our readers that the excellent Journal *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, which had been conducted for many years with great ability by Drs. Zimmermann and Fuhr, and was discontinued by them at the close of last year, has been resumed at the commencement of this year by Dr. Theodor Bergk and Dr. Julius Cæsar, professors in the university of Marburg, whose great attainments as scholars are well known. The parts published under the management of the new editors sufficiently justify the expectation, that the Journal will continue to render the same services to philology as under its former editors. The alterations which have been introduced in regard to the arrangement of the subjects, and the increased literary information in the new numbers, are well calculated to increase the circulation of the Journal. The *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, which had been suspended for a time, is now continued by the united efforts of Professors Welcker and Ritschl of Bonn, and the parts which have already appeared under their management contain many papers of the highest importance and interest to scholars.

The excavations in the neighbourhood of Tusculum under the direction of M. Campanella, have brought to light very valuable sculptures and inscriptions. Among the works of art there is a statue of Minerva of very beautiful workmanship, which is particularly remarkable for the peculiar form of the ægis. The head of the statue is unfortunately broken off, and as yet wanting. (*Preuss. Staatszeitung*, 1843. No. 21.)

M. Maynas, a learned Greek, who has lately been travelling in Greece and Asia Minor on a commission of the French ministry for public instruction, has sent to Paris some important manuscripts which he had collected during his expedition. Among them are, —a work of Theodorus Lascaris, a commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, two Greek Lexica, and three plays of Aristophanes with important Scholia. All these works had hitherto been unknown, with the exception of the three comedies of Aristophanes. (*Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843. No. 13.)

Dr. Scharff of Weimar published in 1842 a dissertation *Commentatio de veterum re telegraphica*, in which he points out the passages of ancient poets and historians respecting the use of telegraphs in antiquity. He comments especially on the passage of Polybius (x. 39) where a more complete and perfect system of telegraphic communications is proposed, and on the chapter of S. Julius Africanus *περὶ πυροῦν*. (Th. Bergk and Cæsar's *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswiss.* 1843. No. 19.)

The *Preussische Staatszeitung* (1843. No. 9) contains an article on the recent excavations in Greece, of which the following abstract is given in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* (1843. No. 10). The restoration of the Parthenon at Athens and of a temple of Nike was conducted from 1834 to 1836 by Professor Ross. After the place of Ross was taken by Pittakis, the works in the temple of Nike were stopped, but the results of his labours on the Acropolis and other parts of the city are as follows. In 1837 several parts of the Acropolis were cleared; a fifth Caryatid and an Ionic capital of a column was found which belonged to the inner portico of the Propylæa. In 1838 discoveries were made respecting the construction of the Parthenon and the Propylæa. In 1839 sculptures were found which probably belonged to the frieze of the outer wall of the Erechtheum. In 1840 the northern part of the Parthenon was perfectly cleared; metopes were found containing a group of centaurs, and fragments of three pieces of the frieze with groups of the sacrificial procession. In the same year was found the pedestal of Athena Hygiea, and remnants of an ante-Periclean gate of the Acropolis; and the plateau of the temple of the Brauronian Artemis was laid open. The basis of the Trojan horse also was discovered, &c. &c. The year 1841 produced nothing of great importance. In the lower part of the city antiquarian researches are greatly impeded by the building of new houses: the excavations here were of small extent and gave few results. But the collections of inscriptions and sculptures have nevertheless been so much enriched, especially from the necropolis of the port town, that the temple of Theseus is no longer sufficiently large to contain all, and other buildings have been taken into use for the preservation of those relics. Among the excavations in the demi that of Velanideza is the most important, for among other things discovered, there has been found in that place the tomb-stone (a pillar) of Aristion, the work of Aristocles. On it is represented a warrior in a standing position in the archaic style, and the figure is scarcely injured at all. In northern Greece Delphi has attracted the principal attention: in 1839 ruins were discovered there of the temple of Apollo and of a Doric round

temple. The excavations undertaken by K. O. Müller under the cella of the Pythian temple were interrupted by his death. In Peloponnesus, too, various interesting remains have been found. The article in the *Staatszeitung* concludes with the remark, that at no long period from this time the museums of Greece will bear a comparison with the richest in Europe, since most of the discoveries made hitherto were merely accidental, and the places of Greece which are the most important in a religious point of view, have not yet been touched upon, or at least, only very cursorily.

X.

UNIVERSITIES¹.

GÖTTINGEN.—The university of that place has suffered very severe losses during the last few years. The political disturbances, after the accession of the present King of Hanover, caused the well-known withdrawal of the seven professors, Albrecht, Dahlmann, the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Weber, Ewald, and Gervinus. Death too has made great havoc among the professors, and has deprived the university of some of its greatest ornaments, as Pott, Göschen, Blumenbach, Himly, Schrader, Reuss, Heeren, Dissen, Artaud, K. O. Müller, Trefurt, and Herbart. The vacancies which have thus been produced among the teachers, and which it has been impossible to fill up, were naturally followed by a decrease in the number of students, and while in 1837 their number amounted to 909, it was reduced in the winter 1838-9 to 656, and in the summer of 1839 to 664. Subsequently, however, the number increased again. In the winter of 1839-40 the number of students amounted to 675, in the summer of 1840 to 693; in the winter of 1840-1 to 704; in the summer of 1841 to 703; in the winter of 1841-2 to 728; in the summer of 1842 to 728, and in the last winter, 1842-3 to 691. For this last half year the courses of lectures announced were 199, to be delivered by 95 professors. Much care also has lately been spent upon the institutions connected with the university, and the great activity among the young professors who have been appointed, justify the hope that the university of Göttingen will soon recover its former position among the German universities.

¹ We beg to tender our most cordial thanks to some of the members of our own Universities, especially Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham, for the kindness

with which they have complied with our request to furnish us with intelligence respecting the Universities.

BRESLAU.—In the summer of 1841 this university had 612 students, and in the winter following 639. In the summer of 1842 their number amounted to 669, the last winter to 676, of whom 193 studied Roman Catholic theology, 108 Protestant theology, 123 jurisprudence, 114 medicine, and 138 philosophy. The number of professors is 39 ordinary and 10 extraordinary professors, 26 privat-docenten and 11 other teachers.

GREIFSWALD.—In the winter of 1841-2 this university had 191, and in the summer following 226 students.

JENA.—In the winter of 1841-2 the number of students amounted to 414, among whom 106 were studying theology, 149 jurisprudence, 83 medicine, and 76 philosophy. In the summer of 1842 their number amounted to 429. Of the 423 who attended lectures during the last winter, 1842-3, 110 were studying theology, 155 jurisprudence, 63 medicine, and 95 philosophy. Professor Götting of this university had been invited to come to Göttingen as the successor of K. O. Müller, but he declined the offer. The place was subsequently offered to, and accepted by, Professor K. F. Hermann of Marburg.

WÜRZBURG.—During the last winter, 1842-3, the number of students amounted to 512, and thirty-nine professors had announced their courses of lectures, 4 in the theological, 6 in the juristical, 15 in the medical, and 11 in the philosophical faculty. Four professors also lectured on subjects connected with political economy. During the summer and winter of 1841 and 1842 upwards of 6000 florins were spent upon the increase of the university library; the ordinary sum destined to be expended for that purpose every year is about 3500 florins. Professor von Lasaulx, who is chiefly engaged upon investigations concerning the religious institutions of the ancients, has recently published four very interesting dissertations, in which he brings the religion of Greece into connexion with the Christian religion. 1. *Abhandlung über den Sinn der Oedipussage*, Würzburg, 1841. 4to. 2. *Die Sühnopfer der Griechen und Römer und ihr Verhältniss zu dem einen auf Golgatha*, Würzburg, 1841. 4to. 3. *Abhandlung über die Gebete der Griechen und Römer*, Würzburg, 1842. 4to. 4. *Abhandlung über die Linosklage*, Würzburg, 1842. 4to. An abstract of them is given in Jahn and Klotz's *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pædagogik*, Vol. xxxvii. p. 232, foll.

XI.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*. Translated from the German, by G. C. Lewis, Esq. M.A. second edition. London, J. W. Parker, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Demosthenes, *Speeches against Aphobus and Onetor*; translated, with notes explanatory of the Athenian Laws and Institutions, by C. R. Kennedy, M. A. London, J. W. Parker, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Donaldson, *The New Cratylus, or Contributions towards a more accurate knowledge of the Greek Language*. London, J. W. Parker. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Edited by Dr. William Smith. London, Taylor and Walton, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Dr. William Smith. London, Taylor and Walton, Parts I. and II.
- Lays of Ancient Rome, by the Right Hon. T. Babington Macaulay. Third edition. London, Longman, 1843. 8vo.
- Linwood, *A Lexicon to Æschylus*, containing a critical explanation of the more difficult passages in the Seven Tragedies. London, Taylor and Walton 1843. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Niebuhr, *History of Rome, Vol. III.* translated by W. Smith, Ph. D. and L. Schmitz, Ph. D. London, Taylor and Walton, 1842. 8vo.
- Orion, an epic poem, in three books, by R. H. Horne. London, Millar, 1843. 8vo.
- Pindar, *Epinician Odes, and the Fragments of his lost compositions*. Revised and explained by J. W. Donaldson, M. A. London, J. W. Parker. 1 vol. 8vo.
- Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia, by W. F. Ainsworth. London, Parker. 2 vols. 1842.
- Wyttenbach, *The Stranger's Guide to the Roman Antiquities of the City of Treves*. Translated from the German, by Dawson Turner, Esq. London, J. W. Parker. 1 vol. 8vo.
- What is the power of the Greek Article, and how may it be explained in the English version of the New Testament? by John Taylor. London, Taylor and Walton, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

- Alexandri Aphrodisiensis *Quæstionum Naturalium et Moralium ad Aristotelis Philosophiam illustrandam libri quatuor*, ex recens. L. Spengel. 8vo. Monachii, 1842.
- Aristotelis *Opera omnia quæ extant, uno volumine comprehensa*. Edidit C. H. Weise. Lipsiæ, 1843. 1 vol. 4to.
- Becker, *De Romæ Veteris Muris atque Portis*. 8vo. Lipsiæ.
- Casauboni *Animadversionum in Athenæi Deipnosophistas, libri xv*. Editio nova. Lipsiæ. 8vo.
- Commentaria Doctorum Hominum in Plutarchi vitas parallelas*. Edidit atque indices necessarios adjecit Dr. C. H. Frotscher. Vol. I. Demosthenes et Cicero. Lips. 8vo.

- Dionis Cassii Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quæ supersunt. ed. F. G. Sturz. Vol. IX. Lips. 8vo. (contains the fragments discovered by A. Mai).
- Grotefend, Zur Geographie und Geschichte von Alt-Italien. Fünftes Heft. Nomenclatur der Völker Alt-Italiens. Hanover, 8vo.
- Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache begründet, von F. Passow. Neu bearbeitet von Dr. Rost und Palm. Vol. I. from A to A. Leipzig. 8vo.
- Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache in drei Bänden, von Dr. W. Pape. Vol. I. A—K. Vol. II. Part I. Α—Παίδευω. Vol. III. contains the Greek Proper Names. Braunschweig. 8vo.
- Hertz, De Lucii Cincii, Cinciorum Fragmenta. Berlin. 8vo.
- Van Heusde, Studia critica in C. Lucilium Poetam. Traject. ad Rhen. 8vo.
- Longi Pastoralia, Græce et Latine. Græca ad optimorum librorum fidem emendavit, ad notationes priorum editorum selectas ineditas Brunckii, Schaeferi, Boissonadii et suas adjecit E. E. Seiler. Lipsiæ. 8vo.
- Mützell, De translationum quæ vocantur apud Curtium usu commentatio. Insunt veterum grammaticorum de translatione aliisque tropis præcepta. Berlin, 4to.
- Observationes Criticæ in Platonis Comici reliquias. Scripsit C. G. Cobet. Amstelodami. 8vo.
- Oratores Attici. Recognoverunt J. G. Baiterus et H. Sauppius. Fasc. V. Demosthenis Orationes, xxii—xliv. 4to. Zürich.
- Paraphrasis, incerti auctoris, Aristotelis sophistarum elenchorum. Ex codice Monachensi edidit L. Spengel. 8vo. Monachii, 1842.
- Poetæ Lyrici Græci. Edidit Theodorus Bergk. Lipsiæ, 1843. 8vo.
- Ptolemæi, Claudii, Geographiæ libri octo. Græce et Latine. Ediderunt Dr. F. G. Wilberg et C. H. F. Grashof. Fasc. IV. 4to. Essen.
- Rosenthal, Vollständige Uebersicht der Geschichte der Baukunst, von ihrem Ursprunge an his auf die neueste Zeit. II. Theil. die Griechen und Römer. Berlin. 8vo.
- Schmidt (Dr. W. Ad.), Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Alterthums. Erster Theil. Die Griechischen Papyrusurkunden der Bibliothek zu Berlin entziffert und erläutert. Berlin. 8vo.
- Schneider (Dr. Otto), De censione hastaria veterum Romanorum conjectura. Berlin. 8vo.
- Schuch, Privatalterthümer oder wissenschaftliches, religiöses und häusliches Leben der Römer. Karlsruhe. 8vo.
- Scriptores Poeticæ Historiæ Græci. Edidit. A. Westermann. Braunschweig. 8vo.
- Sextus Empiricus ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Berlin. 1842. 8vo.
- Sexti Empirici Opera. Græce et Latine. Pyrrhoniarum Institutionum libri iii., cum H. Stephani versione et notis edidit Dr. J. A. Fabricius. ii. Tomi. Lips. 8vo.
- Theophrasti Opera quæ supersunt omnia, edidit cum apparatu critico, F. Wimmer. Tom. I. Historia Plantarum. Vratislaviæ.
- Thucydides, De Bello Peloponnesiaco libri viii. Ad optimorum librorum fidem editos explanavit E. F. Poppo. Vol. I. Sect. 1. (containing Book I). Gotha. 1843. 8vo.
- Zeiss (Dr. G.), Römische Alterthumskunde, in drei Perioden bearbeitet. Jena. 8vo.

THE
CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XII.

REMARKS ON THE DOCUMENTS IN THE *DE CORONA*
OF DEMOSTHENES.

[NOTE.—The following discussion was drawn up, in ignorance that several dissertations on the subject had already appeared in Germany, to which the present writer has not had access. Although it is much to be desired that the question should be further reviewed by one who has considered all that has been urged on both sides, this appears not to be a sufficient reason for suppressing a train of argument, which, however incomplete, rests on its own basis.]

IN the celebrated oration of Demosthenes which concludes, for us, his public career, we find a singularly large number of documents which appear at first sight very valuable. In all the other orations we are generally tantalized by naked words such as *Ψήφισμα*, *Νόμος*, *Μάρτυρες*, *Ἐπιστολή*, &c. ; and such, indeed, is the case towards the *end* of this speech likewise. At first, twenty-seven times in succession the records are present, and then seven times their places are vacant. It is useless to speculate on the causes of their sudden disappearance after so regular an appearance: yet we may seem justified in inferring, that it is not by any care of Demosthenes personally, that these twenty-seven have been preserved. For it is reasonable to believe that he could have secured copies of the last seven with equal ease: and we find nothing in their *subject* that would allow us to suppose that its inferior importance occasioned the omission of the documents. If he had himself embodied them in his speech, there is no reason why they should have been lost, more than any substantive part of the speech itself. The non-appearance of the last seven has, therefore, some effect in lowering the *external* evidence of the extant twenty-seven, as denoting that they have been inserted by a later hand.

If, nevertheless, the *internal* evidence were every way satisfactory, it would be credible that after the decease of Demosthenes one of his literary admirers endeavoured to complete his oration, by searching for the genuine decrees and letters in the public offices at Athens; and although we might still wonder why the search which had been twenty-seven times together successful, should then uniformly meet with a failure, which no internal grounds could have led us to anticipate; still the strangeness of the phenomenon would probably be insufficient to make us suspect the documents as spurious. But although the mere negative evidence of consistency might thus suffice to establish them, they have no external evidence of positive weight and capable of resisting objections founded on their contents. If we find them to be erroneous as to dates or facts, we must not try to save their credit by re-modelling our chronology and history, by tampering with their text, or by putting forced senses on the words of the two orators. Moreover, it will be conceded that they form in some sense *a whole* within themselves; insomuch that whatever should clearly demonstrate the spuriousness of one would, forthwith, cast a certain doubt upon the others: and if a large proportion of them were proved spurious, the fact would throw prejudice so strong on the rest, that no mere negative merit could save them from a common verdict: especially if those which we had failed of directly disproving, appeared to be screened from detection by mere emptiness or by remoteness from the sphere of our knowledge; while to forge them would have been an easy task to any grammarian.

Strong suspicion was long since directed against most of them, when it was observed that the eponymous archons affixed to them never (except in one solitary case) agreed with the names found in other lists. In several notes which are published in the current editions, Palmer and Taylor complain of this incongruity; the former sometimes in a very decisive tone. The phenomenon itself is so marked, that, but for the extreme unwillingness of the excellent old commentators to *lose* any portion of a classic work by allowing its spuriousness, a more cutting criticism might have been expected. Various hypotheses were set up concerning these pseud-eponymous archons, but none of them satisfactory. It has been imagined that they were *ἐπίορταί*, or some other presidents, whose names, *pro hac vice*, were attached to the decrees, instead of that of the ordinary *ἐπὶ νόμος*; and laborious theories have been erected and overthrown in endeavouring to establish one or other of these

views. But it is an obvious and decisive reply, that if the Athenians thus tampered with the word ἀρχων, all utility of the name of the chief archon in ascertaining dates, is lost, and in fact he is no longer ἐπώνυμος at all: and that if such liberties were really taken, we should find the difficulty to recur elsewhere in genuine decrees; but we do not. Another theory, that the names belonged to archons who were substituted for the ἐπώνυμος upon his dying during his year of office, is equally untenable. No one can imagine so many chief archons together, and only just at this critical time, to have died during office, some of them in the very first month; moreover, as Corsini observed, we find two and even three pseudo-archons in the very same year. The argument also from the analogy of the Roman republic seems to be valid; viz. that even if an archon (as a consul) did die in office, his name would nevertheless be attached to the whole year, for the very object of avoiding chronological confusion. All such assertions as that the names belong to *other* officers than the chief archon, are gratuitous guesses; and it has been truly observed, that we might as well interpret *Cæsare et Bibulo consulibus*, to mean, *Cæsare et Bibulo prætoribus*, in order to get rid of an anachronism; as pretend that ἀρχων meant ἐπιστάτης or πρόεδρος.

It appears to me that this single fact, the non-agreement of the names of the archons, is sufficient *prima facie* evidence to throw the burden of proof most heavily on him who should allege the authenticity of these decrees. If there had been but one or two cases of the kind, this might have been imputed to corruption of the text; or possibly the received lists of archons might have been believed faulty. But here we have fourteen Attic records, yielding ten or eleven different names, one only of which is a true chief archon:—this cannot be corruption of the text:—and the solitary true name is that of Chærondas, which was so notorious by its association with the fatal battle of Chæronea, that every rhetorical composer would be likely to remember it, though few had lists of archons at hand to refer to. It will hereafter be shown that the only decree in which this name certainly appears, refers to an event which undoubtedly did not take place in his year. In

¹ Plutarch, in his notices of Demosthenes, says, that the bill of Æschines against Ctesiphon was filed Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος, μικρόν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν. This is too obviously false, not

to have been remarked on by everybody: but it is a singular proof, how easily a writer most ignorant of chronology, and of all other archons, would stumble on the name of Chærondas.

another decree which, I believe, did happen while he was in office, the common editions read 'Επὶ Χαίρωνδου Ἠγήμωρος, (*De Coron.* 253) where both names can scarcely be correct. It looks as if Χαίρωνδου had been added by a later hand.

It may be useful here to present in a tabular form those decrees, which we can by their contents refer to a known date, with the true and false archons' names annexed. (The reasons for some of the dates will be given below.)

B. C.		TRUE ARCHON.	FALSE ARCHON.
346	Decree of Demosthenes concerning the oaths (235).	Themistocles.	Mnesiphilus.
	Decree of Callisthenes in panic (236). Epistle from Philip, expostulating.	Archias.	
344 (latter half.)	Decree of Eubulus about the detained vessels (249). Resolution of Senate. [Boëdromion]. Cool reply of Philip.	Lyciscus.	Neocles.
340	Reform of the Trierarchy (261).	Theo- phrastus.	Polycles.
339	Spring Pylæa. Decree reproving the Amphisiasts (279).	.....	Mnesitheides.
338 (former half.)	Spring Pylæa. Invitation to Philip (279). Letter of Philip to the Peloponnesian allies. Two Athenian decrees (282, 283). Decree of Demosthenes for alliance with Thebes and war with Philip (289).	Lysimachidas.	Mnesitheides?
			Heropythes.
			Nausicles.
337	Decree of Aristonicus to crown Demosthenes (253). Similar decree of Ctesiphon (266). Bill of Æschines against Ctesiphon (243).	Chærondas.	Chærondas Hegemon.
		Phrynichus.	Euthycles.
		.....	Chærondas.

But since many learned men do not regard the objection drawn from the false names in so serious a light as I view it, it appears desirable to go more fully into the question; and, examining the details of the documents one by one, to consider whether they can support themselves as genuine.

From the four controversial speeches left us by the two great orators, we gain, in spite of their inconsistencies, a pretty clear view of the transactions of the year 346 B.C. The first embassy, of Ten, returned from Philip in the beginning of Elaphebolion: the peace and alliance were decreed by the Athenians *on the 19th of that month*. The people placed the management of the business

in the hands of the senate; and, when the ambassadors delayed, Demosthenes, being that year a senator, passed a decree of the senate *on the 3rd of Munychion*, ordering them to sail immediately, and follow Philip wherever he might be, in order to gain a ratification of the peace. (See *Æsch. F. L.* 271, *Demos. F. L.* 359). This is the celebrated embassy *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρκους*, for unal-
 versation in which Demosthenes accused *Æschines*, B. C. 343.—
 We have now to examine the decree presented to us in the *De Coron.* 235, as the actual *βουλῆς ψήφισμα* by which the ambassa-
 dors were so peremptorily ordered to depart.

A glance at the document shows that the date is hopelessly erroneous. It is the last day of Hecatombæon, instead of the 3rd of Munychion. Even if we did not know the true day so distinctly on *Æschines's* information, we should be certain that the alleged date is false; for in Hecatombæon, Demosthenes was no longer a senator at all; and, in fact, the embassy actually returned as early as Skiroph. 13th (*Demosth. F. L.* 359). Looking on the case as desperate, Corsini cuts the knot by altering the text of this decree; which may spare us the need of farther words on the subject.

Again: the decree is wrong as to the names of the ambassa-
 dors. It gives us five names, Eubulus, *Æschines*, Cephisophon, Democrates, and Cleon; and deceived by this, and forgetting for a moment the incontrovertible proof on the other side, the learned author of the article *ÆSCHINES*, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Mythol.*, has stated (p. 37) that Demos-
 thenes was not a member of this second embassy. That he *was*, appears by entire pages of the two orators; and there is a passage in *Æschines (F. L.* 273), which appears to me to imply that the same ten persons were re-elected for the second embassy. He says: "I must take up from the beginning our journey in quest of the oaths, and our embassy. Whereas on the former occasion, there were so many as ten ambassadors, besides an eleventh sent along with us by the allies, not one of them would eat at the same table with him (Demosthenes), nor, where it could be helped, stop at the same inn; seeing that he, in the former embassy, had plotted against them all." Thus, on the second embassy, they shunned him, in revenge for his conduct to them in or after the first. That the same ambassadors should have been reappointed was natural, since likewise on the third embassy, ("to the Amphictyons"), this was done, as *Æschines* was just before saying: *προσαναγκάζοντος τοῦ δήμου μηδὲν ἴππον πρεσβεῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰρεθέντας πάντας. Τὰ*

is, though at first Demosthenes had absolutely refused to go on the third embassy, and Æschines had taken an oath of ill-health, by reason of which two other persons, Stephanus (?) and Aphobetus (?)*, were substituted for them; yet all were finally compelled to go. This justifies us in interpreting literally the words of Æschines, above translated, to mean, that all the ten ambassadors (besides Aglaocreon of Tenedos, who was the eleventh,) were on the second as well as on the first embassy. The names of the Ten were Philocrates, Phrynon, Aristodemus, Ctesiphon, Æschines, Demosthenes, Iatrocles, Nausicles, Dercyllus, and Cimon. Thus the decree under examination is wrong in four names out of the five, besides giving five instead of ten. It could not help being right in one, namely, that of Æschines: but it deserves remark, that from the oration *De Corona*, (from which *alone* I believe the rhetorical author to have fabricated the decree), no other name could have been discovered. That Demosthenes was on the second embassy, appears clearly enough in his attack on Æschines, thirteen years earlier, but in the *De Corona* he studiously keeps it out of sight.

The decree before us has then a false archon, a false date, and false names of the ambassadors. It is rarely that we can expect to get more decisive marks of spuriousness than these three points combined. Yet, perhaps, in the present case still more can be adduced, as cumulative disproof. If, however, the reader should give less weight to the following, it must not be allowed to injure the force of what has been already said.

In the first place, then, it appears nearly certain, that the real decree contained the name of the general (*i. e.* admiral) Proxenus, who was ordered to conduct the ambassadors straight into the presence of Philip. For we read in Demosthenes (*F. L.* 389), γράφω ψήφισμα βουλευῶν, . . . ἀπιέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις τὴν ταχίστην, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Πρόξενον κομίζειν αὐτοὺς, &c. . . ., γράψας, ὥσπερ νῦν λέγω, τοῖς ῥήμασιν οὕτως ἀντίκρυσ. The last clause which I quote appears to justify the belief that Proxenus was named in the real decree: but he is not in that which here lies before us.

Other words seem to be quoted by Demosthenes from this decree, in *F. L.* 430, viz.: Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχοις εἶναι

* Æsch. *F. L.* 289, we find Stephanus among the ambassadors on the third occasion; and by Dem. *F. L.* 379, it appears

that one of Æschines's brothers was his substitute.

τὴν εἰρήνην, and, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὀρκοῦν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, and, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδαμοῦ μόνους ἐντυγχάνειν Φιλίππῳ, none of which are found in the suspected decree. It is true, that the first, or even the two first quotations might be referred to the original decree of Elapheb. 19th, but the third quotation exhibits too strong a jealousy of the ambassadors to be ascribed to any other hand than that of Demosthenes. Unless he has forged it entirely, it must surely be part of the βουλῆς ψήφισμα, penned by him on the 3rd of Munychion.

Less stress can be laid upon the words quoted by Æschines, (*F. L.* 275), πράττειν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ ἄλλ' ὃ τι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. In fact, the internal evidence is here the other way, and may convince us that these words come from the decree of Elapheb. 19th, in which the influence of Demosthenes was by no means exclusive or even predominant.

In regard to the form of the decree under examination, I desire correction if I am wrong, but I cannot help suspecting that there is a defect. On this occasion, the *people* had conferred full powers on the *senate*, (*Demosth. F. L.* 389; *cf. Andoc. Myst.* 8,) so that the βουλῆς ψήφισμα was a final authority. Nevertheless, the formula here used is precisely the same as in the reverse case of Ctesiphon's decree (*De Coron.* 266), where the consent of the senate had *first* been obtained, for introducing a measure to the people with its sanction. In both, it is barely said δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, but no one would be able to find out from the former decree that the senate had previously obtained full powers from the people, any more than from the latter that Ctesiphon had previously secured the approbation of the senate. In fact, the very same form is employed also in the decree of Aristonicus, (*De Coron.* 253), which does not appear to have been passed with the same formalities as either of the others. Are we to suppose that the Athenians did not carefully mark in the decrees themselves the process by which they received the public sanction? I should have expected this senatorial edict of Demosthenes to have run thus: 'Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἀποληγομένην τοὺς ὄρκους παρὰ Φιλίππου ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοκράτορα· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἀπέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις τὴν ταχίστην, &c.

There is another obscure point in the decree before us, viz. the mention of the εἰρήνη and the πρώτη ἐκκλησία. The speeches of the antagonist orators abound with allusions to the *two* ἐκλήσεις which were held on the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion, but their

contradictions are very embarrassing. I believe, however, that on the 18th the resolution of the allies for *peace* was read to the people, and discussed, but nothing was done that day. On the 19th, a vote was carried for both *peace* and *alliance* with Philip, provided that "all the allies of Athens" were included. On the 25th, Philocrates qualified this by the clause, "such of the allies as have representatives now sitting in the congress." (See *Æsch.* c. Ctes. 391—393, and *Demosth.* *F. L.* 353, 354, &c.) That not only *εἰρήνη* with Philip, but also *συμμαχία*, was voted, is admitted by Demosthenes; but he names it with reluctance, except when charging it on Philocrates, being aware that the guilt of it was laid upon himself; as, most bitterly, by *Æschines* (l. c.) Since he generally calls it *εἰρήνη*, a mere reader of the *De Corona* would suppose it was nothing more; but as we know it was *συμμαχία*, would not this have been expressed in the decree? The *εἰρήνη* was discussed and approved, but it was not formally passed in the *προτέρα ἐκκλησία*; what then are we to understand by the *εἰρήνη ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ*?—We might farther ask, How is it that the clause is here found, "including the allies of each party," for this might appear to take no cognizance of the qualifying words introduced by Philocrates. The reply, I believe, is sufficient, that the only party excluded by that clause, was *Kersobleptes*, (*Æsch.* l. c.); and before the date of this decree, the Athenians had learned that his kingdom was irrecoverably lost (*Æsch.* *F. L.* 271).

But I must pass to the next document, the decree of *Callisthenes* (238); which is there stated to have been enacted "when *Mnesiphilus* was archon, on the 21st of *Mæmacterion*." The name of the archon being the same as in the former, and the interval of time only several months, we cannot doubt that the fabricator intended *Mnesiphilus* to be one of the *annual* archons; which he is not. Concerning the date, the question is less clear. *Corsini* has confidently rested on a statement of *Demosthenes*, which perhaps cannot be trusted, since the orator had a case to make out by exaggerating the rapidity of the events. The second Embassy had returned on *Skiroph.* 13th, and made its report to the people on the 16th. On the same day *Philocrates* passed a decree of alliance "with Philip and his heirs for ever," with a distinct threat of hostility against the *Phocians*. On the 23rd the *Phocians* submitted to Philip. On the 27th *Dercyllus* brought

the news to the Piræus (Demosth. *F. L.* 356 and 359). *Afterwards*, (and the present question is, *How long* afterwards?) the Athenians were seized with panic, and collected persons and property into the city, and even celebrated the feast of Hercules within their walls (368). Demosthenes is anxious to shew that this was an *immediate* result of the Athenian decree on the 16th; and for the same reason he habitually speaks of the "ruin" of the Phocians as taking place on the 23rd, the day of their *surrender*. In p. 389 (*F. L.*) he has the following important passage: "When, after five or six days, the Phocians were ruined, . . . and Dercyllus came back from Chalcis, and reported to you, while you were met in assembly at Piræus, that 'the Phocians are ruined;' and you, on hearing it, were, with good reason, partakers in their grief, and panic-struck for yourselves too; you voted to bring in the women and children from the fields, to repair the fortresses, to fortify Piræus, and to celebrate the feast of Hercules within the city."

It cannot be questioned, that the obvious meaning of the above, is, that this panic was occasioned by the tidings which Dercyllus brought; and, in fact, that the decree (which must have been this very decree of Callisthenes, see Demosth. *F. L.* 368), was passed on the same 27th of Skirophorion. So Corsini understood it; and if so, then clearly the date Mæmacterion 21st, is a mark of spuriousness in the document which we are examining. Nevertheless, I am disposed here to charge Demosthenes with misrepresentation, and to believe that the panic did not take place until Philip had begun to raze the Phocian cities to the ground, the measures for which cannot have been taken in a day, nor is it likely that he would instantaneously disclose his intentions. In the *De Corona* (237), Demosthenes shows himself equally desirous as here, of insisting on the shortness of the interval, (εἰς, οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν,) yet he there seems to admit that the actual razing of the cities to the ground preceded the Athenian panic. "What happened after this; instantly, and not at a distant time? That the miserable Phocians were ruined, and *their cities razed*, while you, remaining inactive and believing the word of this fellow, *a little afterwards* had to collect your property from the fields, &c." I do not think then that we can entirely adopt Corsini's inference, that the feast of Hercules was at the end of Skirophorion, or that the decree of Callisthenes was passed on the 27th. On the other hand, it is intrinsically incredible that Philip should wait until the middle of Mæmacterion, that is to say, nearly five months after the sur-

render of the Phocian army, before proceeding to the decided and severe measures which threw the Athenians into alarm. No more words are needed, to show that this is undoubtedly a false date: yet I may add, that as, *after* his campaign in Phocis was ended, Philip celebrated the Pythian games (De Pace 62, III. Philip, 119), those who hold with Mr. Clinton that these games could not fall later than the beginning of autumn, have therein an independent ground for rejecting the date Mæmact. 21st.

It would farther appear that the composer of the decree before us did not know very accurately what the contents of it ought to have been. Demosthenes had just implied, that it commanded the people *σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν*: but he did not here add, what is twice stated in the *Fals. Leg.* (368 and 379), "to bring in the women and children from the fields." Instead of this, the decree before us forbids any one (male adult, as well as females and children) to be in the country during the night, with the sole exception of the guards on duty. Such a decree appears impossible to be executed. It might indeed have been *passed*, during a frenzy of alarm; but if so, I think Demosthenes would have commented on it in the *F. L.*, as aggravating the case against Æschines, instead of softening it down into a more reasonable edict. Again, the natural, if not the necessary, inference from his words in *F. L.* 368, is that the order to celebrate the feast of Hercules within the walls, *was a part of Callisthenes's decree*. Now this could not be found out from the *De Corona*, and accordingly it is omitted in the document there inserted. If the passage of the *F. L.*, to which I refer, be examined, it will be seen that the orator is contrasting the glorious events which gave rise to the decree of Diotimus, with the melancholy ones which caused that of Callisthenes; after which, he orders each decree to be read out *for the sake of verifying his statement*. This appears to me to imply that all the lamentable things which (says he) ἐψηφίσθη, were contained in the ψήφισμα of Callisthenes. Decidedly to the same effect is the passage from p. 379, already quoted. If so, this is another very strong proof that we have not before us the authentic decree.

The epistle from Philip which follows, is moral rather than historical, yet it contains one point which may seem historically questionable. He says: "In short, you appear to me to be doing *something rather extreme*, in agreeing to the peace, and yet, not

at all the less drawing out your forces against me," ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες. It is dangerous to reason from negative evidence; yet such a fact, as that the Athenian armies marched out, after the destruction of the Phocian towns, to cope single-handed with the Thebans, the Thessalians and Philip, appears not more incredible, than the omission of it everywhere else, if true. Possibly, however, it may be replied, that if they had collected an army round Athens itself for defensive purposes, Philip may have exaggerated this on purpose.

The records to be next discussed, refer to a topic which has no acknowledged date: it is, the detention of the Athenian merchant-vessels by Philip. We first get a rough approximation to the time, from the remark of Demosthenes (249): "It was he who broke the peace by seizing our vessels; and not the city, Æschines." Now, we know that in B.C. 342, Diopceithes assaulted the dominions of Philip in the Chersonese and on the coast of Thrace; and Demosthenes justified him: we must then place this detention of the vessels *earlier* than B.C. 342. In the oration *περὶ Χερσονήσου* Demosthenes does not, indeed, definitely mention the affair, but he has words which will include it, and may even seem to allude to it (p. 91 Reiske, p. 110 aliorum): φαίνεται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ Φίλιππος, πρὶν Διοπίθην ἐκπλεῦσαι, . . . πεποιημένα τὸν πόλεμον, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως εἰληφὼς ὑπὲρ ὧν ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμέτερα ἐγκαλοῦντα κύρια ταυτί,—. We might believe that while uttering the word *ταυτί*, the orator displayed the very same *ψηφίσματα* as he afterwards caused to be recited at this part of the *De Coronâ*. At any rate, as the pervading argument of the *περὶ Χερσ.* is, the positive assertion that Philip had *already* broken the peace, and was in actual war with Athens, and as this seizure of the vessels must have been, according to that speech, only the first act of a series of hostilities, we seem justified in placing the aggression at least as early as B.C. 343.

A farther examination of the orator's words shows, if I do not mistake, that it happened either in the beginning of that year, or even as far back as the year preceding. For he tells us (250), that the first decree was moved by Eubulus, a second by Aristophon, a third by Hegesippus, a fourth by Aristophon again, *a fifth by Philocrates*, a sixth by Cephisophon, and others by others. Such a series of decrees implies a succession of messages backwards and forwards to the scene of action; perhaps replies from

Philip in the intervals; and several months at least may be allowed between the original seizure and the decree of Philocrates. Yet Philocrates was capitally impeached by Hyperides, and went into voluntary exile in the year 343, *before* the celebrated accusation of Æschines by Demosthenes. It is true, there may seem to be some difficulty as to the later fortunes of Philocrates. Namely, in this same speech (*De Cor.* 310), Demosthenes mentions *the slanders of Philocrates* as dangerous to him after the battle of Chæronea; which at first made me infer that Philocrates had obtained forgiveness and returned to Athens. Æschines, however, in his attack on Ctesiphon (395), speaks of him as still in exile; φύγας ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγνηται. I think we must believe that Philocrates, although banished, was still dangerous to Demosthenes by his voice or pen, with which he could pretend to reveal scandalous secrets, owing to his former intimacy with him.

If we could trust the date *Boëdromion*, which is affixed to both these decrees, they must have been passed in the autumn of B.C. 344. At any rate, I think we are justified in saying, that the event which occasioned them was between midsummer 344 and midsummer 343; that is, it fell under the archon *Lyciscus*, as I have expressed in the table.

It cannot be doubted that the Eubulus who drew up the first decree was the celebrated statesman of that name; for Demosthenes would not otherwise have used the bare name without qualification; moreover, he is endeavouring to show that the first opposition to Philip began, *not from him, but from his opponents*; of whom Eubulus was the most eminent. Whether this Eubulus was *son of Mnesitheus*, as the decree says, I am not able to find; but that he was Ἀναφλύστιος is generally received as certain. I at first thought that it was a clear error in the present decree to call him by any other cognomen; but upon searching for the proof that he was of Anaphlystus, I was unable to find any other than the first decree already examined (235), which I have been rejecting as spurious. Will any one then say, that possibly the well-known Eubulus was not really Ἀναφλύστοις, but as our present decree says, Κύπριος? or that he was of the parish Anaphlystus, but derived from Cyprus? The objection to this is, that Cyprus is not an Attic parish at all, and that even supposing him to have been derived from the island Cyprus, such an epithet was out of place; where the name of the parish was certainly needed. *For this reason, several critics have conjecturally altered the word*

to *Κυθήριος*; but such a proceeding presupposes that the composer wrote with full knowledge, or with a list of the Attic parishes at his side.

It is to be remarked, as a peculiarity in this decree, that it has the date Boëdromion only, and not the *day* of the month.

The act of the senate, in pursuance of the decree of the people, needs no particular remark: I proceed to Philip's letter. Every careful reader, I suppose, is surprised by the comments on the letter which Demosthenes makes; for they are not merely sophistical, but so unplausible and stupid as to be unworthy of him. His argument is this (249, 250, 252): "It is Philip that first broke the peace, and not the city; and when he did so, the first persons to complain were Eubulus and his followers, not I; and, in fact, Philip himself blames *others* and not me (*ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν*) as the cause of the war. Read his letter.....There! he has not put down the name of Demosthenes, nor brought any charge at all against me. Why did he not mention *my* doings, when he was finding fault with everybody else (*τοῖς ἅλλοις*)?" Now what is the fact? that the present letter does not refer by name to any Athenian statesman at all, nor complain pointedly of any one; but has merely the vague words, *ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἐτέρων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλόμενοι... τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν*: words which are so far from excluding Demosthenes, that it is hard to say to whom they might more naturally be applied. This alone gives me a strong indisposition to believe that the letter before us is the real one which Demosthenes ordered the clerk to recite.

It is also rather inconsistent for Philip to begin by imputing fraud to the Athenians: "You are great simpletons, *if you think I do not see* that these ships were sent, &c.," and then, in so few lines, to acquit them of the guilt, and lay it on crafty individuals, and statesmen whom they ought to punish. But perhaps it will be said, that consistency is not to be expected.

A far more serious ground of suspicion, and one which (in connection with the other objections) convinces me that the letter is a forgery, is found in the allusions to Selymbria. In his speech for the Rhodians (p. 198 Reiske, p. 225 of others), in the year 351, Demosthenes counts this city as an integrant part of the Byzantine confederacy; and especially as it lies *between* Perinthus and Byzantium, it is on other grounds impossible that Philip could have

blockaded it, without being involved *ipso facto* in a war with those cities. Yet it is certain that at the date of this affair, *i. e.* not later than B.C. 343, he was still ostensibly at peace with Byzantium. The speech *περὶ Χερσονήσου*, while labouring to set forth the encroachments of Philip, as well as his positive breaches of the peace with Athens,—makes no allusion to any blockade of Selymbria. It describes hostilities with Byzantium as impending merely, (p. 93 Reiske, p. 112 others), and the Byzantines themselves as inactive : *ἐὰν περιμείνας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ, οἷεσθε τοὺς Βυζαντίους οὔτε παρακάλεσεν ὑμᾶς, οὔτε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσεν* ; Such supineness on the part of the Byzantines would seem incredible, if Selymbria had already been attacked ; and if even the Athenians were so alive to pity a town which was not theirs, as to send in corn for their relief. In the 3rd Philippic, also which was spoken rather later in the same year, Demosthenes merely says of Philip (p. 120 Reiske, p. 138 of others), *καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται, συμμάχους ὄντας* ; but still there is no allusion to Selymbria, nor to any deeds of actual hostility already commenced.

In short, neither from any of the extant remains of the orators, nor from Diodorus, nor from Justin, nor from any other source, as far as I am aware, does it appear that Philip ever established a blockade of Selymbria at all, much less that it became the first and direct occasion of hostility with the Athenians. In the two orations concerning Malversation in the Embassy, which, it appears, must have been composed after the seizure of the vessels, it is not surprising that no allusion to this act of hostility is found : for Demosthenes was not likely to go out of his way to inveigh against Philip in a matter which would probably be looked on as a result rather of his own policy than of his rival's. Nevertheless, if Philip had involved himself in so serious a matter as a war with Selymbria, *that*, I think, might have been expected to come out somewhere in so long and desultory a speech. My suspicion that there is no authority whatever for the whole story except this letter of Philip's, and the comment on it by Ulpian, is confirmed, by observing that these two are the only authorities to which Mr. Clinton appeals (*F. H.* in Tables) : while, under the intrinsic improbability of the alleged facts, we need not be surprised that there has been controversy concerning their date.

Whether the commentary is really from Ulpian of Cæsarea, or has been ascribed to him without any grounds, need not concern us here, since he lived as late as the times of Constantine the

Great. It is more important to insist, that this scholiast, whoever he was, knew no more of the affair of Selymbria than he learnt from the letter before us. In fact, he even retains many of its very words, under a more historical form. All that his comment can prove, is, that the letter was not forged later than A.D. 300, and was then received as genuine.

The reform of the Trierarchy by Demosthenes (261) must next engage us; the date of which is pretty well fixed by the orator's statement, πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν, &c. (262). As we have no reason to regard this as a rhetorical boast, we may suppose the law to have been carried in the year 340, early enough to allow of fleets being built or duly equipped by help of its enactments.

When we examine the document set before us, it is strange to find that it does not profess to be what we expect, viz., the Act of Reform itself, but the record of a failure to convict Demosthenes of illegality for passing it. It does not detail *what* was the change, so as to shew the advantage gained by the state and by the poor, as the orator desires: it only alludes to the fact of a change, and states that Patrocles had to pay "the 500 drachmas" for losing his suit against Demosthenes. Is it possible that the composer was deceived by the phrase, λέγε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὅτι εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν; and interpreted it, "Read the decree about my having been impeached," instead of, "the decree which gave occasion to my impeachment"? As for "the 500 drachmas," in the other passages to which we are directed, I find that it was 1000 drachmas. Is this also a mistake?

After this, the orator directs two Κατάλογοι to be read, one according to the old law, and another according to his reformed system. We naturally expect a schedule, or rather (in an English sense) a *catalogue*, which shall tell *how many* Athenian citizens had to keep one or more trireme, *how many* half a trireme, *how many* one third, &c. &c.; nor does it appear to me that in this connection, the word κατάλογος can have any other meaning. On the contrary, we are, instead, presented with two decrees,

* There is something peculiar in the process indicated. Demosthenes εἰσήνεγκε τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικόν, (—what is this? "Laid a copy of it before the admiralty"?—) and then, the senate and people sanctioned it by vote.

—Such specifications, even when, as here, not very intelligible, are rather in favour of the genuineness of the record. [Bœckh, *Ec. of Ath.* b. iv. note 387, corrects εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικόν in the decree.—ED.]

or fragments of decrees, which do not tell us *the actual results* of the reform at all. In fact, it would seem that what is here called τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον, would more properly be called a clause of the law itself. It may be imagined, that the fabricator had felt that he ought to tell the reader somewhere what the arrangements were under the new law, and unluckily brought them into the κατάλογος, because he had left them out under the ψήφισμα.

I come next to the Amphictyonic decrees (279), and the Attic date affixed to them. Here is at once a startling difficulty, and even absurdity. The two decrees are obviously intended to be separated by a year of time; each being at the *spring* Pylæa, and the state of affairs widely different in the two. In the former, the Amphissians are mildly rebuked, in the latter, Philip is called in as general against them. Nevertheless, only one date is given for both these decrees: Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μὲνός Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα. It was hardly by accident that Demosthenes asked, λέγε δὴ τοὺς χρόνους (*plural*), ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο. At least, if the δόγματα really recited by the clerk, were passed (as is probable) at different times, two different dates would be needed. If, on the contrary, χρόνους is to be understood vaguely to mean "the period," including weeks or months, there is some impropriety in so definite a date as Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα. Once more, by what link was this Attic date attached to the Delphian decrees? was the decree countersigned by the πύλαγοι, and was a copy thus attested deposited in the records at Athens? This is left obscure; but perhaps is not to be complained of. On the other hand, is it not strange that the Delphian decree had no date of its own to mark the year? For if these δόγματα are genuine, the Delphian priesthood was not annual; indeed, it is on other grounds improbable that it should have been so: hence, the formula ἐπὶ Ἱέρως Κλειναγόρου does not distinguish the year at all. Mr. Clinton has remarked (*F. H.* Vol. II. p. 357), that, at least at a later time, the Delphian decrees were for this very reason dated, not by the name of the priest, but by that of the archon.

Another suspicious circumstance, is, that the second decree styles Cottyphus *the Arcadian*; whereas, we know by *Æsch. c. Ctes.* (413, *in fine*.) that he was a *Pharsalian*. A grammarian, who did not remember this, might have been tempted to *make him* an Arcadian, from observing that he was a general,

and knowing that great numbers of Arcadian mercenaries had in these times been employed in Phocis. That it was not at all natural for the Amphictyons to send away to Philip their president and general, as sole ambassador, I would not say confidently; but it strikes me as neither usual nor probable.

The letter of Philip to the Peloponnesian allies (280), which follows, contains, in the opinion of a very competent judge, Mr. Clinton, one error which cannot be cleared up; viz. its statement that the Macedonian month Lous agreed with the Athenian Boëdromion. It is needless here to extract the demonstration which he has offered, that the coincidence of the two months was impossible. Though I am sensible of the great delicacy of such inquiries, it does look to me as if Mr. Clinton had proved his point. I will only add, that in other parts of his work, he affords us the means of accounting for a fabricator being seduced into this mistake. Namely, after the Julian Calendar was adopted at Cæsarea, their Lous was made equivalent to the Roman September; moreover, in Greece generally, the Attic Boëdromion was used for September. Hence a superficial person might look on Lous and Boëdromion as identical.

The two decrees (282, 283) which bear the name of Heropythes are still more manifestly spurious. Bishop Thirlwall has already commented on the fact, that they represent the Athenians and Philip to have entered into a new treaty of peace (τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην... τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας) since the war of Byzantium; which, says Bishop Thirlwall (*Gr. Hist.* Vol. vi. p. 60) is not credible, although attested by Diodorus. In his judgment this alone is a strong ground for rejecting these decrees. This, however, is but a part of the refutation. The contents of the decrees themselves are incredibly humiliating to Athens, when she had so lately triumphed over Philip at Byzantium, or, at least, believed herself to have triumphed. The former of them, dated Elapheb. 26th, states that "Philip has already taken certain *παλαιὰ τῶν ἀστυγετόνων*, and intends to break the oaths;" and, therefore, they "send ambassadors to beg for time to reflect, and for a truce until Thargelion." The next is dated the last day of Munychion, and says: "Since Philip is aiming to set us at variance with the Thebans, and has proposed to march a force to the very borders

of Attica, therefore"...they send an embassy "*to entreat and exhort him to make the truce*, in order that the people may take such measures as the case may admit (*ἐνδεχομένως*): for even now, the people has determined not to sally forth, in anything short of an extreme case (*ἐν οὐδένι τῶν μετρίων*)."

This appears to me, I say, incredibly abject; it is also anachronistic. The speech of Demosthenes obviously implies that the two decrees quoted were passed *before* the seizure of Elatea, the effects of which on Athens are told immediately afterwards. Yet it was not possible that Philip could take *πᾶσις τῶν ἀστυγεϊτόνων* before he passed through Pylæ, and no sooner had he passed through than (Demosthenes tells us) he instantly seized Elatea. Nor can the strength of this be evaded, by saying that the orator exaggerated Philip's promptitude; for it is incredible that so able a general should have left Elatea behind him, and first attacked certain cities, *ἀστυγεϊτρος* to the Athenians. We might indeed justly contend that this term can mean nothing but Boeotian towns on the Attic border; but waiving that, it cannot be doubted that the first act, by which Philip showed that he was come on an errand different from that for which he had been invited, was, his occupation of Elatea. The extraordinary panic which seized the Athenians on hearing of this, entirely refutes the notion that they can, six weeks or more previously, have passed a decree, complaining that "he is prepared to come with an army on to the very borders of Attica."

Again, the comments of Demosthenes on the documents really recited to the assembly, are not such as could have been suggested by those here set before us. He introduces them with the words, *Ἐν οἷς δὲ ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες, εἰσεσθε*: by which we are warranted in expecting decrees of mutual hostility passed by Athens against Thebes, and by Thebes against Athens. After they have been read, he adds, *οὕτω διαθεῖς τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὁ Φίλιππος*, &c. &c.: which is quite consistent. The real decrees must have exhibited Philip's success in infusing enmity between Athens and Thebes; and we were thence to learn how great a service Demosthenes performed in healing the breach. Yet, in fact, there is nothing in *our* documents to show that Philip had had any success at all in that matter; we barely learn that Philip "is intending" (or "aiming"? *ἐπιβάλλεται*) "to set the Thebans at variance" with Athens; at the mere idea of which the Athenians are grievously alarmed: moreover, in his letter to the Thebans, Philip praises them for their prudence in sacrificing the Athenian

interests to their own; which can imply in them only selfishness, not enmity to Athens. His letter is called, *Rep'y to the Thebans*; but we have no Theban decree to which it could be a reply.

There is another way by which we may refute, in a combined view, the whole series of documents which belong to the Amphissian war. Assuming them to be sound, a *reductio ad absurdum* is readily obtained. The decrees inscribed with the name of Hieropythes, represent Philip as warring south of Pylæ during Munychion, and even Elaphebolion of B. C. 338. Let this be granted. Prior to this he directed his Peloponnesian allies to meet him by Boëdromion. If this is sound, his order cannot have been issued later than Metageitnion in B. C. 339. Consequently his invitation came from the Amphictyons before that month. It is dated *ἐαρινῆς πύλαιας*; which must then have been in the spring of 339. Hence the preceding *spring* Pylæ, viz. of 340, was that at which the first decree was issued, gently reproving the Amphissians, in consequence of Æschines's harangue to the Amphictyonic council. But Æschines himself distinctly tells us that Theophrastus was archon when he was elected *πυλαγόρας* (c. *Ctes.* 413); and we know that Theophrastus did not enter office until the midsummer of 340. Which is absurd.

To cut his way out of this maze, Boeckh alters *ἐαρινῆς* in the second Amphictyonic decree, into *ὁπωρινῆς*. Against such arbitrary changes, in documents destitute of external or any strong evidence, I wholly protest; but let that pass for the present. He next has to suppose three Amphictyonic assemblies in the time of six or seven months; viz. one at Delphi in the spring of 339, in which Æschines first attacked the Amphissians; one in *Metageitnion* the same year, which month he thinks may be called *ὁπώρα*; and one between the two, viz. that at Pylæ, named by Æschines, c. *Ctes.* 413. This is, then, supposed by him to have been an *irregular* assembly, though neither orator implies it. He has next to crush up Philip's Scythian expedition into an incredibly short time. During the second assembly of the Amphictyons (at Pylæ), Æschines tells us that "Philip was far and far away in Scythia:" the third assembly was "*πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον*, when Philip was already come back." Great force must be used to reconcile this with Mr. Boeckh's scheme. But if with Corsini and Clinton we change *βοηδρομιῶνος* into *ἐκατομβαιῶνος* in Philip's letter, to avoid another objection, this will render Boeckh's alteration of *ἐαρινῆς* into *ὁπωρινῆς*

useless, and indeed mischievous to his theory : for granting that Metageitnion might be called *ἀπώρα*, Skirophorion certainly could not. Thus the two corrections are incompatible. Other objections urged by Mr. Clinton (in p. 356, Vol. II. *Fast. Hell.*), appear to me also of weight ; and I feel no question that he rightly interprets τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν (Dem. Cor. 277, in *fine*) to mean “the Pylæa which was subsequent to Cottyphus’s autumnal expedition.” But Mr. Clinton does not appear to have remarked, that all the arguments against *his* view are based on these documents, and must entangle his system, as well as every other, until they are shaken off entirely.

The decree of Demosthenes consequent on the seizure of Elatea is here dated, “16th Skirophorion, under the archon Neocles ;” (though those of Elaphebolion and Munychion were under Heropythes !) No decree in the whole oration is so like the rapid forgery of a rhetorician as this. Lengthy as it is, it does not yield us a single definite fact about Philip’s hostilities, about which it wastes many vague words. Could any thing so verbose have proceeded from Demosthenes, and at such a time ? or, was it according to his taste, however congenial to Isocrates, and even to Æschines, to lay stress on a mythical tale about the sons of Hercules ? Considering also how much took place between the seizure of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea, (which was Metageitnion 7th,) it may be suspected that the date, Skirophorion 16th, is too late. Not that I lay any stress on the μάχη χειμερινή, which, I make no doubt, was a battle fought during a furious storm—perhaps of summer hail.

We may further ask, whether it is credible that the Athenians, before ascertaining the temper of the Thebans, should have decreed not only *συμμαχία* with them, but even *ἐπιγαμία* ? For Ionians to become mingled as one people with Æolians, was to a Greek mind equivalent to a sacrifice of nationality. Those who had lost their own country already, might gladly become incorporated with another nation ; but so liberal a bestowal of *ἐπιγαμία* as this decree supposes, does not look to me like reality.

Next in time, I have placed the decree of Aristonicus for the crowning of Demosthenes ; because the orator distinctly tells us that that was the second time of his being crowned (253) : the first must consequently have been that which was moved by Demomeles (302) in honour of the successes obtained a little before the battle

of Chæronea. This decree of Demomeles was impeached after the battle, but the accuser, Diondas, did not get a fifth part of the votes (302, 310). I conjecture that that emboldened Aristonicus to propose a new crown to Demosthenes for a part of his administration which had hitherto passed unhonoured, viz. his Eubœan policy of the year 340.

The 25th of Gamelion, which we find in the record, may be a true date, if the view now given is correct. Aristonicus may have crowned Demosthenes in Febr. B.C. 337, while Chærondas was archon. Except the strange double name of "Chærondas Hegemon," this decree is the most unexceptionable in the whole speech; but it is at the same time the easiest to forge: for as we are told that Aristonicus wrote "the same syllables" as Ctesiphon, and the whole of Ctesiphon's decree may be picked up from the two orations, there was no difficulty at all. Negatively, however, we may ask, why does it say vaguely *τινας τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων*, when it would be more natural for one who knew what he meant, to specify Oreus and Eretria, and the ejection of Philistides and Clearchus?

Ctesiphon's decree follows in order of time (267); and nearly the same remarks apply to it as to the preceding. The month assigned to it is plausible enough,—Pyaneption 22nd, or autumn of the year 337. We know distinctly from *Æsch. c. Ctes.* 376, that Demosthenes was appointed *τειχοποιός* by his tribe, in an *ἀγορὰ τῶν φυλῶν* held on the 2nd and 3rd of Skirophorion, when Chærondas was archon, i.e. about a week before the summer solstice of B.C. 337. The month which barely remained to Chærondas was scarcely enough for finishing the work and crowning Demosthenes. Moreover, if he had been set over the theatrical fund during that year, Ctesiphon would surely have waited a few days in order to remove that objection to his decree. I believe therefore that it was in the following Attic year, B.C. 337-6, that Demosthenes was theatrical treasurer, and in the same, as we know, the *προβούλευμα* for crowning him must have been obtained by Ctesiphon.

It has however surprised me, that this decree throws no light on the language used immediately before by Demosthenes. He says, *λαβὼν ἀνέγνω τὸ ψήφισμα δὸν τὸ γραφέν μοι· οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, &c.* This may seem to mean that the *προβούλευμα* was incorporated in the *ψήφισμα*. Indeed, following the usual explanation, that Ctesiphon first petitioned the senate to

allow him to bring in a bill before the people, in their name and authority, ought not his *ψήφισμα* to carry that on the face of it? Is the concise phrase *δέδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* a sufficient notification to the *δῆμος* that the consent of the *βουλὴ* has already been obtained? I should have expected a formula more like that in page 265, *ἔειπε Καλλίας Φρεάριος, πρυτανέων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη*, if at least the text there is sound, and if we may translate it:—“A bill was brought in by Callias, the prytanes *reading it aloud*, in accordance with a vote of the senate.” Some act on the part of the officers of the senate would seem needed, in order to guarantee the bill to the people as that which the senate had approved. Nevertheless, I write this, much more in hope of being instructed better, than from feeling that I have any understanding of these matters.

The last of these decrees for which we can get a sufficient date, is the bill of impeachment against Ctesiphon by Æschines. We know at least that it cannot have been written before the offence was committed by Ctesiphon, and before Demosthenes was elected a *τειχοποιός* by his tribe. This at once convicts the decree before us as anachronistic. It is dated Elaphebolion 6th, in the year of Chærondas; yet we have seen from Æschines that the office of *τειχοποιία* was not conferred until the 3rd of Skirophorion in that year. Such is the ill luck of the fabricator of these decrees, when he ventures to deal with a real, instead of a fictitious archon.

Several documents still remain. Two of them are found in p. 265, and represent Nausicles to have been crowned when *Demonicus* was archon, (a false name,) for advancing money to 2000 troops in Imbros, and not exacting it of the treasury:—also Charidemus and Diotimus, (under what archon is not stated,) for similar generosity.

The orator has just named four persons whom the Athenians had honoured. “First Nausicles,” says he, “has often received crowns for the generosity he has shewn in his office of general: next Diotimus, for his present of the shields, was crowned; and again Charidemus: afterwards Neoptolemus here has been honoured for the surplus payments which he made in various offices *of trust*.” Then he adds, “To prove that I speak truth, read aloud

the decrees which were made for these men." Hereupon follow, not four decrees, (which might have seemed the least to be expected, since Nausicles had been *often* crowned,) but two only; and the latter combines Diotimus and Charidemus in a single vote. The words are not without obscurity: Ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀποσταλεῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτάμου μάχῃ, &c. . . . The plural verbs with which the decree closes, show that the expression ἀποσταλεῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα is to be repeated with the second clause. Both generals were sent to Salamis, one over the horse, one over the heavy-armed foot; and when the shields of certain troops were captured by surprise during "the battle on the river," they unitedly sustained the expence of replacing them. On the contrary, the words of Demosthenes strongly impress me with the belief that it was on two different occasions that these generals were crowned; otherwise the word πάλιν seems unnatural: ὅτι τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε, καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος. Again, it is a strange coincidence that the Athenians should have fought a battle in Salamis called ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτάμου μάχη, when this name was likewise given to a battle fought against Philip, in the campaign which preceded Chæronea. The battle so called by Demosthenes (p. 300) must surely have been in Phocis or Bœotia, not in Salamis: moreover, that the affair for which Charidemus was crowned, was very recent, appears from the perfect tense, Ναυσικλῆς ἐστεφάνωται. If there had been two well-known battles lately fought on rivers, the latter would have probably gained some distinctive title. But we have further to ask, against whom was this Salaminian battle fought? and where else is it named? or is it possible so to interpret ἀποσταλεῖς εἰς Σαλαμίνα as to evade the conclusion that the battle was fought in Salamis?

The decrees of the Byzantines and Chersonesites are the more difficult to bring to a severe test, from our little knowledge of their customs; and if they stood alone, I should probably receive them as genuine. At first, indeed, I regarded it as a favourable symptom in the former, that it made no mention of the Selymbrians; but here the orator himself gave the clue, by naming only the Byzantines and Perinthians. A peculiarity in the decree, is the opening Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος: for we might naturally have doubted whether the Hieromnemon was an annual officer. All objection, however, appears to be overruled by the similar phrase in Polyb. iv. 52. A

more important difficulty strikes me in the orator's phrase, λέγε τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων. The repetition of τοὺς implies that the Perinthians sent στέφανοι separately from the Byzantines. Yet the decree not only joins the two cities in the act, but uses the strong expression τῇ δάμει τῇ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων, as if they were but a single people⁴. It has also been remarked to me by a judicious friend, that the splendid gifts named in both these decrees are more like the liberality of a rhetorician, than the practical life of Greek cities. The Byzantines and Perinthians give to the Athenians "the rights of *intermarriage, of citizenship, of possessing land or houses, &c. &c.*, and *exemption from all λειτουργίαι* for such of them as choose to dwell among them:" this last particular elevates them *above* citizens. Besides, three statues *sixteen cubits high* are to be erected, &c. &c. As for the towns of the Chersonese, considering that they were Ionian, and indeed colonies from Athens, we might have less wondered if they had been ready to confer ἐπιγαμία, πολιτεία, &c. . . . They, on the contrary, bestow on the senate and people of Athens "a golden crown of the value of *sixty talents*:"—(ἀπὸ τάλάντων ἐξήκοντα, *from a fund of sixty talents*; i. e. not to exceed that sum?)—and build an altar to "Gratitude and the People of Athens." Bishop Thirlwall (*Hist. Greece*, Vol. vi. p. 50, note 3) has remarked on a discrepancy between this latter decree and the words of Justin, ix. 1, 7; where we read, "Ne unius urbis [Byzantii] oppugnatione tantus exercitus teneretur, [Philippus] profectus cum fortissimis, multas Chersonensium urbes expugnat." But nothing, I think, can be hence deduced to the discredit of the decree before us; for its expression, that Athens has "restored their native soil" (ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας) is quite appropriate, if Justin be correct; and that Philip was at this time expelled, is declared by Demosthenes immediately after:—οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον σῶσαι, &c. . .

I have now noticed all the documents in this speech, except that in p. 268, headed Νόμος, and those in 272, 273, called Μάρτυρες. There is nothing in them which could not be invented by any one out of the speech itself, names being added at pleasure for the

⁴ If the whole confederacy of Byzantium was so united as to regard itself as a single people, why are the two names of *Byzantium* and *Perinthus* put forward

as representing the entire league? Was Selymbria, which lay between them, not part of the same people?

witnesses. To us, indeed, it might appear that the former affidavit, or rather the fragment of it which alone is quoted, is highly unsatisfactory, for we read, *Μακρυποῦσιν ἐνὲρ ἀπάντων οἷδε*, &c. without any statement what the *ἀπάντα* meant⁵. The second affidavit is also disfigured by the name of a pseudo-archon *Nicias*; when the event was probably about the year 341. The *Nóμος* set before us is not quite consistent with the more probable statement in the speech of Æschines; but this may naturally have arisen from the arts of the rival orator.

Thus far, I have studiously refrained from making any remarks upon the *phraseology* of these documents, because I regard that side of the argument as far more difficult and treacherous. Many of the scholiasts and grammarians possessed a full and delicate acquaintance with the language which we shall never attain; and those of them who tried their skill at affecting the style of old decrees, or of letters from Philip, (however they may blunder as to chronology,) are more likely to deceive us by their excellent imitation of the antique manner, than to be detected by us through their failure. The same phenomenon would be remarked, if an Englishman at all versed in our antiquities were now to fabricate letters with the names of Henry VIII and Wolsey:—how hard would it be for a stranger, in a distant age, to say, by the mere idiom, This *cannot* be authentic! It is by error of fact, not by faults of style, that the foreigner would detect the fraud.

Nevertheless, I avow that there are peculiarities of phraseology in these documents which more or less startle me. They occur indeed oftener in the letters imputed to Philip, than in the so-called Attic decrees; and if the latter were *quite* free from such phenomena, I might regard their presence in Philip's letter as an evidence on the side of the authenticity of the latter. I mean, that the phrases which appear like the idiom of Polybius or Diodorus, might have existed already in the diplomatic Greek of Philip's day, though not yet visible in the genuine Attic writers and speakers. As the case stands, however, it rather appears to me that the composer has exerted himself more, and more successfully, to imitate

⁵ Yet I am biased in favour of this affidavit, by its very moderate tone, which is so much less to his rival's discredit

than Demosthenes's comment would imply.

the stiff and formal style of the decrees, than the epistolary idiom of an accomplished man like Philip; and in attaining for the latter more freedom, has unawares admitted a larger infusion of recent phrases. To put the evidence, such as it is, in the clearest light, I will remark upon the Athenian documents separately, first.

I. ATHENIAN DOCUMENTS.

Strange titles of office at Athens seem in several cases to occur in these decrees. First I will name *ναύαρχος*, although a difficulty hangs over the word. It is notoriously the proper term in the Lacedæmonian navy, but the Athenians closely adhere to the title *στρατηγός*. Frequently as the *στρατηγοί* are mentioned by these orators, it seems hardly credible that the word *ναύαρχος* should not once slip out, if that term had been the properly descriptive one in the Athenian public documents. That Philip (p. 251) should employ the title concerning an Athenian sea-captain, is less wonderful, not to say that Laomedon was captain over *merchant* vessels only (*πλοῖα*), perhaps corn-ships. But even in the decree of Demosthenes (p. 289) it is ordered that the *ναύαρχος* should sail *ἐπὶς Πυλῶν*, to attack, it seems, Philip's sea-coast, or intercept convoys of provisions. At Arginusæ, indeed, (Xen. *Hell.* i. 6, 29) besides eight *στρατηγοί*, there were three *ναύαρχοι*: these, however, had but one ship each, and I conjecture (in the dearth of certain knowledge) that they were *permanent* and experienced sea-captains; since such persons would be essential as *πάρεδροι* to the admirals. One passage, nevertheless, in the same author, makes the question perplexing. Xen. *Hell.* v. 1, 5: *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι... ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς*. Is it too bold a conjecture, that Xenophon, living abroad, and habituated to the titles of Lacedæmonian and Corinthian officers, has here slipped into an un-Attic phraseology? At least I cannot find a similar instance in early writers.

In the decree of Callisthenes, moreover, we find the titles *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγός*, and *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως* (paymaster of the forces?) in agreement to which there recur in the decrees of p. 265, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως χειροτονημένος*, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν*, and *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων*. I should be glad to know if there is any other proof that such a distribution of functions and such appellations, existed at that time. I observe that Boeckh (*Pub. Econ. Athens*, book II. ch. vii.)

when quoting these titles, refers to the decrees before us as his sole and sufficient proof.

Page 238, *μηδεμία παρευρίσει*, "on no pretence." Who would not have expected *μηδεμία προφάσει* or *τέχνη*? *Παρευρίσκειν* is found in Herodotus, and Diodorus, the Ionism blending (as frequently) with the later common dialect. I cannot find *παρεύρεσις* again.

Page 261, in the former *κατάλογος*, we read: *τοὺς τριηράρχας καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν*. By the embarrassment of the commentators concerning these *λόχοι*, and their apparent inability to produce any similar use of the word in Attic finance, I presume that it has no parallel extant. I do not get any light upon it from Boeckh (book II. ch. xxii. p. 278 of Eng. Tr. 2nd ed.).

In the next *κατάλογος* we read *ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικῷ*, where F. A. Wolf (*Proleg.* to *In Lept.*) interprets it "three *triremes* and a boat." He is no doubt correct; but I do not remember *πλοῖον* in the Attic classics with this sense. It is a generally received doctrine that *ναῦς* is the generic term for ships of war, *πλοῖον* for ships of burden.

Page 265. The first decree, under Demonicus, uses the expression, *ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα* instead of *πέμπτη ἀπὸ πόντος*. Has this any parallel in early documents? Perhaps it is from my own inadvertence that I am led to ask the question; for I perceive that in several highly respectable books of reference the two modes of expression are stated to be wholly indifferent.—The second decree uses *τοὺς νεανίσκους* for "the soldiers;" which savors of later idiom. The Index for Demosthenes does not contain the word; in Æschines it bears its primitive sense.

Page 266. In the decree of Ctesiphon we read *τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς*. I believe there is no authority for such a masculine as *οἱ θεωρικοί*. *τὰ θεωρικά* is common, but *τὰ ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικά* is new; and I have difficulty in thinking it quite right. Will the words bear the sense: "Demosthenes gave a hundred minas to the theatrical fund of EACH tribe?" (or rather, *ten* to each, a hundred to *all*.) Boeckh probably does not so interpret it, or he would have used the passage to confirm the opinion which he expresses (*Pub. Ec. Ath.* II. vii. p. 183, Eng. Tr.): "The number of these treasurers is nowhere mentioned, but there were most probably ten, one from each tribe," &c.

In each of the decrees (p. 282, 283) named after the archon Heropythes, the verb *ἐπιβάλλεται* is used in an Ionic, or recent sense, for *intends*, or *aims*.

In the last decree of Demosthenes, we find *προάγει* in the intransitive meaning of *increases*: ἐνθυμηθῆναι διότι for ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὅτι: and ἀντιβαίνειν in a rather suspicious poetical sense for ἐναντιωθῆναι, or ἀντιστῆναι.

II. OTHER DOCUMENTS.

More striking certainly are the peculiarities in the other documents, which are *not* strictly Attic. In Philip's Letter, p. 239, we have τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁλοῖς, for, *in short*: οὐδὲν προτερήσετε, for, *you will gain no advantage*, where οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχετε might have been expected: and ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι for πλὴν τ. ε.

In his second Letter, p. 251, we find οἱ πρεσβευταί in the plural. The singular πρεσβευτής was already the legitimate term: but it can hardly be by accident that the historians and orators so uniformly make the plural οἱ πρέσβεις⁶. Here also is καθόλου, for *denique*: but this does not sound to me so decidedly recent as τοῖς ὁλοῖς.

In the decree of the Chersonesites, the phrase ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου, is explained by the ellipsis of χειρός. What is to be said of this? Is it an orientalism? In the same decree the word παραίτιος must apparently be explained as equivalent to αἴτιος, otherwise it is but a poor compliment to the Athenians. This use of the word is familiar to Polybius, but I do not remember it earlier.

In the second Amphictyonic decree, ἀξιῶ ἵνα βοηθήσῃ for ἀξιῶ αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν sounds to me like a more recent idiom; and much more does καὶ διότι αἰροῦνται αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν, if it means ἀγγέλλειν διότι, for ἀγγέλλειν ὅτι. But perhaps ὅπως μὴ—is to be looked on as in apposition to καὶ διότι, and the latter is to be rendered, “and because—”

In Philip's reply to the Athenians (p. 283), αἵρεσιν is used for προαίρεσιν, *intentions, line of policy*, πρεσβευταί for πρέσβεις, and παραπέμφωτες (*having discarded*) for ἀπελάσαντες. In his letter also to the Thebans, we may remark on the verb συγκατατίθεμαι, *I assent*, as bearing the stamp of a more recent phraseology. We find also πυνθάνομαι διότι for πυνθάνομαι ὅτι: προσφέρεισθαι φιλοτιμίαν for παρέχεσθαι φιλοτιμίαν or προσφέρεισθαι φιλοτίμῳς. Ὑμῶν κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν appears a stiff expression for “*I blamed you for being about, &c.*” At the end, πρόθεσις for προαίρεσις, a determination, is usual with

⁶ Since writing the above, I find the following in the *Lexicon Xenophon-icum*: “Πρεσβευτής, *legatus*...Pluralis *damnatur* a Thomá: ἀμαρτάνει ὁ λέγων

ἐπὶ πληθυντικοῦ πρεσβευταὶ καὶ πρεσβευτάς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν δοκίμων εἶπε τοῦτο. Sed non item a Polluce 8, 137.”

Polybius; perhaps not earlier. The adjective *συνκείμενος* is very rare; an Athenian would, I think, have said *συνέπαινος*, and altogether the Ionic⁷ and the later style has often a preference for compounds of *κατά*, which are less used in Attic.

It has occurred to me as rather questionable, whether the Amphictyons would have published a decree against the Amphissians in Attic Greek; and equally, whether Philip would write to his Peloponnesian allies in that dialect. To the former objection it might be replied, that perhaps the Athenian *πυλαγόρας* habitually sent to Athens authenticated copies of the decrees, translated into the Attic; and that the quotation is from the public record at Athens. The latter objection also, in the opinion of a literary friend, may be overruled.

Sensible as I am of the delicacy of these inquiries, and of the danger of resting on negative arguments, I shall be glad of correction on these points from any competent scholar. On the whole, however, the dialect of these documents appears to me somewhat to corroborate, and at least not to weaken, the evidence of their spuriousness, which rests on another line of reasoning.

FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

[Prof. Droysen published in 1839 a dissertation, *Ueber die Aechtheit der Urkunden in Demosthenes Rede vom Kranz*, in which he contested the genuineness of these documents. This dissertation (which contains an account of all that had been previously written in Germany on the subject) first appeared in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, and was afterwards reprinted separately, (Berlin, 1839. 1 vol. 12mo, pp. 205). The genuineness of the documents has been since defended by Prof. Voemel, who published in 1841, at Frankfort, a programme of the gymnasium, entitled *Die Echtheit der Urkunden in des Demosthenes Rede vom Kranze vertheidigt gegen den Herrn Prof. Droysen*, 4to, which has been followed by a second part in 1842. The latter dissertation is not yet finished; when complete, it is likely to be reprinted in the *Rheinisches Museum*.—EDITOR.]

⁷ We should distinguish between the old poetical Ionic, and the new Ionic developed in prose. The latter often, more rarely the former, found its way at a latter period into the κοινή διάλεκτος.

XIII.

A MEMOIR ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

PART I.

A FEW of the geographical positions noticed in the expedition of the ten thousand Greeks to Babylonia under Cyrus, and their retreat from thence through the country of the Carduchians (Kurdistan) to the Euxine and Propontis, under the Greek generals, may be said never to have been lost sight of. Celebrated in antiquity they, or their remains, were well known during the middle ages, nor did the Mohammedan conquests efface their traces, but often preserved their name and memory at the same time, in a corrupted Oriental phraseology.

But this applies to very few among the number of sites indicated by the author of the *Anabasis*. The position of many of the towns and ancient cities noticed in that work has been lost even to the original inhabitants of the country, and appears never to have been known to their Turkish conquerors, while the true character and the physical features of the scene of many of the most stirring and remarkable events of the advance and of the retreat have only been made known in the most recent times. This was particularly the case with the hard-fought passage of the mountains of Kurdistan, which has always been considered as the most interesting event in the whole narrative, and the passes of which, in the track of the ten thousand, were first explored by the author. Many of the cities mentioned by Xenophon were ruins even in the times of Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (Ardashír,) and their position can only be drawn from obscurity by the distances given; by analogy or identity of name or some other accidental facts, as the discovery of the lake of Asmabæus at Tyana; of the fossil limestones at Mespila; and of a pyramid at Larissa. It is, however, surprising how much may be gathered from recent explorations, and that more particularly since the publication of many able commentaries and geographical dissertations, sometimes got up at much labour and expense.

The great body of the Greeks assembled, it is well known, with the barbarian or native troops at Sardis. The site of this city of the Lydian kings was well known to the historians of the lower

empire, and, although now a mere fragment of a ruin, it preserves its identity under the Turkish abbreviation of Sart. From Sardis, the Greeks proceeded under Cyrus across the Mæander, now called Mendereh-su, to Colossæ, one of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. On the destruction of Colossæ, it was succeeded by Chone, which became one of the most interesting and flourishing cities of the lower empire, was the birthplace of Nicetas the Byzantine historian, hence known as Choniates, and the seat of a magnificent church dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and burnt by the Turks. The two places have even been confounded, as by Carolus, who in his *Geograph. Sac.* (p. 241), says the Colossa of Strabo is commonly called Chone. This led Mr. Arundell (*Seven Churches*, p. 92,) to identify the ruins of Chone in the modern Turkish town of Chonos with Colossæ; but Mr. W. J. Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, &c. Vol. II. p. 508, *et seq.*) by a careful study of the neighbourhood and its antiquities, and still more of the course of the different rivers in reference to the statement of Herodotus that the Lycus disappeared in the town of Colossæ, decided almost beyond controversy that the position of the ancient Colossæ was at or near the junction of three rivers, the Tchorúk-su, corresponding to the ancient Lycus, the Ak-su, or White Water, and a third coming from Chonos. This is further confirmed by a passage in Curopalates, quoted by Arundell (*Asia Minor*, Vol. II. p. 179,) and Hamilton (Vol. I. p. 512), where he says, ἐν ᾗπερ οἱ παρρόντες ποταμοὶ ἐκείσε χωνεύμενοι, referring in the most decided manner to the existence of several rivers uniting their streams just above the narrow gorge.

From Colossæ Cyrus marched in three days twenty parasangs to Celænæ, where was the palace of the Persian satraps, and which, after the Macedonian conquests, was succeeded by Apamea Cibotus.

The site of Celænæ has been variously sought for at Sandukli, by Major Rennell (*Illustr. of Xenop. Exp. of Cyrus*, p. 23); at Isakli by Pococke; and at Eski-hisâr by others, (Bell's *Geog.* Vol. IV. p. 122,) but has been recovered and explored in more recent times by Arundell, Leake, and W. J. Hamilton. The latter more especially has done much towards clearing up the confusion that reigned upon the subject of the sources of the Mæander, the mountain, lake, and valley of Aulo-Crenis, the cave of Marsyas, and the cataracts of Herodotus. All the ancient authorities which allude to this celebrated site, from Herodotus and Xenophon

down to Maximus Tyrius, will be found in Col. Leake's *Tour in Asia Minor* (p. 158), and there is scarcely an incident recorded, or a feature of the surrounding district described in any of them, that cannot be reconciled with the present state of the country.

From Celænæ, Cyrus altered his direction and moved off to the N.E., the next two positions being involved in great obscurity. The army made in the first place ten parasangs in two marches to Peltæ, of which we have no other notice save of the tribe called Pelteni by Pliny and Ptolemy, but who were Lycaonians. Guided by the value given to the parasang and stadium by the recent researches of geographers, who consider them as constant and uniform measures and integral portions of the earth's circumference, equal, the one to 5468.668 yards, the other to 607.62977 feet, or, in round numbers, the one to 3 geographic miles of 1820 yards each, and the other as ten to one geographic mile, I have been inclined to seek for Peltæ on the great plain of Balkan-Ovah, which Mr. Hamilton (*Researches, &c.* Vol. II. p. 163) also thinks may be the Peltenus Campus in which Cyrus reviewed his troops and celebrated martial games, although the same traveller is afterwards led by an apparently erroneous estimation of the value of the parasang, to place Peltæ near Ishekli or Eumenia. (Vol. II. p. 203.)

Equally uncertain is the position of the *Κεραμῶν ἀγορά*, situated on the frontiers of Mysia. This spot has been sought for at Kutayeh by Rennell (p. 28), and at Ushak by Hamilton (Vol. II. p. 203), but upon mere conjectural grounds. It appears to us, however, to have some connection with the Ceranæ of Pliny (v. 32), and the Caria of Livy (xxxvii. 56).

Cyrus having proceeded after this, direct upon Iconium, the line of route becomes more distinct, and can be pretty accurately determined by retracing from that well-known point the distances as given by the Athenian historian: thus, the *Καύστρον πεδίον*, the dried up, burnt or arid plain, falls by these retrograde admeasurements on the arid, stony, and ruin-clad plain of Surmeneh, although by Mr. Hamilton's evaluation it would be situated on the marshy soil of Eber-Göl. The soil near Surmeneh is covered to a considerable extent with huge square blocks, heaped together in considerable masses, and it is only watered by an insignificant tributary to the Eber-Göl or lake of Polybotum, which is often dry in summer, when the inhabitants are reduced to their wells for a supply of water.

Two marches of ten parasangs took the army next to Thymbrium, which thus falls at the modern town of Isakli, a Turkish town, built as usual upon the ruins of an ancient site, but of which few remnants of any importance are now extant. Mr. Hamilton (Vol. II. p. 201) has identified Thymbrium with Ak-Shehr, although in another place (Vol. I. p. 472), from the more satisfactory determination of Antioch of Pisidia, and the relative positions of that city and of Philomelium, as given by Strabo, he identifies Ak-Shehr, or "the White City," with the latter spot,—the Philomelum of Cicero. Major Rennell sought for Thymbrium at Kara-Tepéh, a mound of ruins somewhat eastward of Ak-Shehr, and Col. Leake was led by affinity of name to the banks of the river Thymbros, a tributary to the Sangarius, flowing past Kutayeh and Eski-Hisár.

Two more marches of five parasangs each carried the troops to Tyriæum, a place not much noticed by antiquity, if we except Pliny (v. c. 27), and it be the Tyanion of Anna Commena (xv. c. 7. 13). By distances this position coincides with that of the modern town of Arkut Khan. Mr. Hamilton by his admeasurements identifies it with Ilghún. There are, however, no remnants of antiquity or inscriptions illustrative of the true positioning of the site at either of the above-mentioned modern towns.

From Tyriæum, three marches, during which twenty parasangs were accomplished, brought the army to Iconium, celebrated from all antiquity, the capital of the Seljukian sultans, and the seat of an Osmanli pasha, under the name of Koniye. The present state and the antiquities of this city have been recently the subject of description in a posthumous work of Niebuhr, in Mr. Hamilton's and the author's works.

Cyrus proceeded from Iconium five marches or thirty parasangs, through Lycaonia, to the place where he parted with the Cilician queen, sending her under the escort of Menon, the Thessalian, by the shortest way into Cilicia, while he travelled himself and his army, twenty-five parasangs in four marches to Dana. The position of Dana being now well known, and that of Iconium having never been lost, a consideration of the amount of distance travelled by the army, and a knowledge of the peculiarities of the country, added to the objects held in view by Cyrus, leave no doubt that he marched to the entrance of the lower pass of Mount Taurus, which formerly led to Soli or Pompeiopolis, and

which is now designated as the pass of Alan Buzuk, from a village of that name.

Dana is so called by Xenophon alone. From the position given, and from its being at the entrance of the Cilician gate, there appears to be little or no doubt of its being the same as the Tyana of the historians of Alexander and antiquity generally. (Strabo, XII. p. 370. Sozomenus, VI. c. 12. Ovid, *Meta.* VIII. 721. Flavius Vopiscus, c. 22 & 23. Philostratus, *vit. Apollon.* I. c. 4. Ammianus, XXIII. c. 19.)

Tyana has been sought for at various places, as Ketch-Hisár by Kinneir, and elsewhere by Rennell; but it remained for Mr. Hamilton by his discovery of the lake or fountain of Asmabæus, to identify the position of Dana, and consequently also of Tyana, with the existing ruins of Kiz-Hisár, almost beyond controversy.

Menon's arrival in Cilicia with a body of troops having caused Syennesis to retire from the pass of Cilicia, it remained open to the forces of Cyrus, and after staying a day on the plain, the passage was effected without opposition: it is described by the historian as 'Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρώντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν' ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξიტὸς, ὁρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. Xenophon calls the entrance simply ἡ εἰσβολή, but he does not use the term Πύλαι Κιλικίαι, as was done by most subsequent historians, (Arrian. II. 4. Strabo XII. p. 570. Callisthenes in *Polybii Fragmentis*, XII. c. 8. Q. Curtius, III. c. 4,) or the equally expressive term "Tauri Pylæ," used by Cicero (*ad Attic.* v. 20). The only detailed and careful account which is given of the Cilician gates is contained in my *Travels and Researches*, Vol. II. p. 71, *et seq.*

From thence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines: εἰς πεδῖον μέγα, καλὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ῥύτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν ἔμπλεον καὶ ἀμπελών, a description which presents in brief what Cilicia Campestris is to the present day, fertile and generally cultivated; and when not so, interspersed with trees—a point in which it differs from most plains in Asia Minor. To the grains enumerated by Xenophon, *Σήσαμον*, *Sesamum Orientale*, and the *Semsem* of the Arabs; *μελίμη*, panic; *κέγχρος*, millet; *πυρός*, wheat; *κριθή*, barley; may now be added the cultivation of the sugar-cane and cotton.

Having made five and twenty parasangs in four days march, they arrived at Tarsus, "Ταρσοῦς, πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας μεγάλῃν καὶ εὐδαίμονα," where stood the palace of Syennesis king of Cilicia; and

having the river Cydnus, which is two hundred feet in breadth, running through it. Tarsus and its river (the latter most familiar from the illness entailed to Alexander by bathing in its waters) was not only celebrated in all antiquity, but has ever continued to be a town of great importance. There are still many ruins there to attract the scholar or the antiquary.

Cyrus made, in two marches from Tarsus, ten parasangs to the river Psarus or Sarus. From the distance travelled, it was evidently above the site of the city of Adana that the river was traversed by Cyrus. This was necessitated by the depth of the stream rendering it unfordable at that city, and is evidenced by the width given to the river by Xenophon, of 300 feet, and by his not mentioning Adana, which was nevertheless a town of remote antiquity. This river is called by the Turks Seihún.

Another march of five parasangs brought the army to the Pyramus, which appears, from several considerations, to have been forded below Mopsuestia, the present Missis, and also upon the now abandoned westerly branch. The first consideration which led us to this deduction is, that the river is not fordable on the plain from Missis to Ainzarbeh, the Anazarba or Anazarbus of the low empire. The second is, that the distance travelled is greater than is necessary to go simply from the Seihún to the Jeihún (as the Gihon or Pyramus is called by the Turks), in the parallel of Adana and Missis; and the third, that it was by the western branch that it was forded, is manifested by the distance given from the Pyramus to Issus.

The road then followed would have taken the army across the Campus Aleius, over which Philotas also led the Macedonian cavalry (Strabo xiv. p. 676), and by which they would have avoided the passes of the Jebel Elnúr (mountain of light). They would thus have passed by Ægæ, now Ayas, a small sea-port with ruins. Thence they would reach the Demir Kapu, or iron gate, a Cyclopiian monument of a remote age; from whence, keeping along shore, and avoiding Castabalum, the Catabolon of the Antonine Itinerary, and the ruins of which are in the present day extensive, they reached Issus.

Scarcely any traces of this city, ennobled by the victory of Alexander over Darius, remain in the present day; but there can be no doubt, by the distances given from Castabalum, and from the Syro-Cilician gates, that, notwithstanding the identification of Issus with Bayas by Williams, in his *Geography of Ancient Asia*,

that that site is indicated by the ruined fragments which are scattered about the right bank of the Deli Chaï (Pinarus), and not on the left bank of one of its affluents, where is Yusler, its supposed representative by Rennell (p. 48). This appears also to have been the site of the Pindenissus of the Eleuthero-Cilicians of Cicero (*ad Famil.* ii. ep. 10).

From Issus Cyrus made in one march five parasangs to the gates of Cilicia and Syria: ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕσθωθεν, τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας, Συνένεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικῶν φυλακή· τὸ δ' ἔξω, τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας, βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακή φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τούτων ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. Ἄπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεῖν δὲ ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. Ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναὺς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φιλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις. All the circumstances of this minute description may be traced in the present day. A river, now called Merketsu, and apparently the Andricus of Pliny, as well as Karsus of Xenophon, flows from a mountain ravine, having a Turkish castle on one side and a modern village; on the other, the ruins of an ancient wall terminating in buttresses is still extant on the sea-shore, and can be traced from this ravine to the sea; and at a distance of 600 yards, or 3 stadia, are the fragmentary ruins of another wall or gate: but the river in the present day does not flow out between the walls, but, after losing itself in a marsh, issues into the sea by two mouths—one of which is between the walls or gates, the other a little outside the northerly or Cilician gates.

The Amanian gates (Ἀμανίδες πύλαι), across which Darius led his army in the rear of that of the Macedonian conqueror, and over which he effected his retreat after the disastrous engagement, are to the north of the Issus and the Pinarus, in the Amanian range of mountains now called the Jawur Tagh, and in the parallel of Castabalum.

After passing the gates of Cilicia and Syria, Cyrus proceeded through Syria, and in one march made five parasangs to Myriandrus: εἰς Μυριάνδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὄρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλάι.

This interesting site, although sought for by Rennell (p. 57),

on the authority of Volney's *Travels* (Vol. II. p. 27) and Drummond's *Travels in Syria* (p. 205), at a spring near Iskendrun or Alexandretta ('Αλεξάνδρεια κατὰ Ἴσσον), designated by sailors as Jacob's Well, has not been recovered. There is no doubt, from the distances given by Xenophon, that it lay half-way between Alexandria and Rhosus or Rhossus, this latter site is now called Arsus; and although I visited and explored the ruins there, unfortunately the interval between it and Alexandria was passed over in a boat.

The historian makes no mention of the pass of Beilan in Amanus which the army must next have traversed, in passing from the sea-coast into the interior; and his silence upon this, and upon the lake of Antioch, have led to many conjectures among his commentators; but there is every reason, from the geological features of the country, to believe that, in respect of the lake of Antioch, there has been little change since the earliest historical times.

From Myriandrus Cyrus made twenty parasangs in four days, and came to the river Chalus: ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὅντα τὸ εἶρος πλέθρον, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραιῶν, οὓς οἱ Σύριοι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον. This river, not otherwise noticed by antiquity, has been generally and correctly identified by geographers with the Kouiet or river of Aleppo. But an objection was found by Foster (*Geo. Diss.* in Spelman's Trans.) to this identification, founded on a statement of Rauwolf (*Travels* by J. Ray, Part I. c. 8), that there is a scarcity of fish at Aleppo. This must have been owing to idleness on the part of the Aleppines in Rauwolf's time; for fish abound, to my own experience, in the Kouiet, and Colonel Chesney and ourselves found one of its chief tributaries in the mountains north of Aleppo, designated as the Baloklu-su, or fish-river. The Syrian worship of fish, as noticed by Xenophon, and long kept up at Hierapolis, is still preserved, to a small degree, in the reverence paid to the fish in the pond of Abraham's Mosque, *Birket el Ibrâhîm el Khalkî*, the lake of Abraham the beloved, and the *καλὴρρόη*, or beautiful fountain of the Greeks, at Urfah.

Thirty more parasangs, in five days, brought the army to the source of the river Daradax: ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δαρδάκος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εἶρος πλέθρον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσιος βασιλεια, τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πᾶν μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι. The distance travelled from the Chalus, and the tradition of the palace of Belesis, at Balis on the Euphrates, tend

strongly to identify the two spots. The ruins of Balis, also the Barbalissus, and Barbarissus of the Romans, are situated in N. lat. $36^{\circ} 1' 21''$, E. long. $38^{\circ} 7' 10''$, and consist chiefly of a large crumbling edifice, apparently belonging to the period of the Roman dominion. The bed of a canal, in parts filled with water, and about 100 yards in width, is still extant, which, being drawn from the Euphrates some distance to the north, passed immediately before the palace, separating it from the extensive and fertile plain which appears to have formerly composed the park of the Syrian satraps, and which still abounds in boars, francolin, and game of various description.

That Xenophon describes this canal under the name of Daradax is not only evidenced by the distances given, but also by the fact that he, in another place, describes in a similar manner the river Mascá at Corsote, which was also a derivative of exactly the same character; also by the circumstance of its being 100 feet wide at its source—a peculiarity which, as Major Rennell has remarked, can scarcely belong to a spring in such a country, and which can only apply to the origin of the canal, at which point the army appears first to have come down on the Euphrates. It may be further remarked, that Colonel Chesney and the author made exploratory excursions in the neighbourhood of the ruined palace of Belesis, in search of any possible sources or streams, as the fountain of Fay, mentioned by Major Rennell, but without success. The silence of the historian with regard to the Euphrates is puzzling; but it appears almost to be intentional, as it was on coming to that river that Cyrus had promised, at Tarsus, that if he did not find Abrocomas, the general of Artaxerxes there, he would consider what next was to be done. It may also be remarked that the journey across the desert from Iskendrun, supposing it to have passed by some palace of the Syrian satrap, situated in that desert, at sources not at present known, must still have presented great difficulties to an army; and that the great object, when south of the Kouiet and Sajur rivers, is always to reach the Euphrates as soon as possible, as in this case also the army of Cyrus was obliged to follow its banks closely all the way from Thapsacus to Babylonia.

From hence (Balis), says the historian, *ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὅντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σαδίων· καὶ πόλιν αὐτόθι ᾗκειτο, μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι.* Thapsacus has been identified by Foster with the Tiphseh of

Scripture (1 Kings iv. 24). Strabo (p. 213) says, καθ' ἣν (θάψακον) ἦν τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὸ παλαιόν, and as Abrocomas appears to have fled before Cyrus, and to have destroyed the bridge, so Darius retreated by the same pass before Alexander; and the Macedonian was obliged to construct a double bridge, which he did, according to Strabo (xvi. p. 741), by transporting boats from Phœnicia and Cyprus. The original passage of Strabo, Ἄ κομισθέντα εἰς Θάψακον, σταδίοις ἑπτὰ εἶτα τῷ ποταμῷ κατακομισθῆναι μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος, is open to many doubts, as he gives only seven stadia between Phœnicia and Thapsacus.

It appears that Thapsacus was known to the Syrians by the name of Turmeda, for Stephanus (under Ἀμφίπολις) says, ἔστι καὶ πόλις Συρίας πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, κτίσμα Σελεύκου, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Σύρων Τούρμεδα, and we have the authority of Pliny for the identity of Amphipolis (the name it obtained after the death of Alexander) and Thapsacus, for he says (v. c. 24), *Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis*.

At a point corresponding by the survey of the Euphrates with the distances travelled by Cyrus, there is a ford celebrated among the Arabs as the ford of the "Anaidi," or of the Bedwins, and the same as that at which Suleïman (Suleyman) lost his life. It is the more remarkable as being the only ford for a distance of several hundred miles in this part of the river; and it is only practicable at certain seasons, and that not always at the same season. The Euphrates and Tigris steamers passed the ford in the month of June 1836, without difficulty; but the steamers Nitocris and Nimrod in passing over in the month of October 1841, found only twenty inches of water, and were detained till March of the ensuing year.

We found the remains of a causeway on both banks opposite to the ford; and not far from some ruins, now called Al-Hammam, or the Baths, on the right bank, were a low series of mounds, and fragments designated as Suriyeh by the natives, and evidently the same as the Sura of Ptolemy and the Augustan Tables, which have preserved a great road from Palmyra, passing through the marble city of Resepha now Reseph, and Sura, to Callinicus, now Rakkah, and to Charræ (Edessa), &c. It was also the *Flavia firma Sura* of the *Notitia Imperii Orientalis*; but whether the same as Thapsacus it is difficult to say, although the circumstances of position appear to render it very probable, and there is also a close analogy between the Sur of Ptolemy and

the Tur-meda of Stephanus, the transition from the Hebrew and Syriac Sur to Tur being constant; as, for example, Tyre was, by Hebrews, Syrians, and Chaldeans, alike called Sur (Bochart, *Geo. Sac.*, p. 341), and Assur became the Atur and Aturia of the Romans. (Dion Cassius, LXVIII. c. 26.) Sur signifies a rock or mountain, and the Sur of Mesopotamia are to this day called by the Arabs Jebel Tur, and hence the Roman Taurus. The Arabs also call Mount Sinai طرو TUR. (*Researches in Assyria*, &c. p. 18.)

Two distinguished geographers, Major RENNELL and D'ANVILLE were induced, from ignorance in regard to the positioning of this ford of the Euphrates, and from a wish to identify Thapsacus with Deir, a small Arab town on the same river, to suppose that Xenophon had, by inadvertence, transposed distances in this portion of his work, and recorded as the distance from Daradax to Thapsacus what ought to have been from Thapsacus to the Araxes, and, *vice versâ*, from Thapsacus to the Araxes what ought to have been from Thapsacus to the Daradax; but actual exploration of these interesting and remarkable countries has shown that there is no necessity for such forced interpretations, and that in this, as in other cases, the Athenian historian has preserved his accustomed accuracy. (D'Anville, *Euphrate et Tigre*, p. 23. Rennell, l. c. p. 61.)

From Thapsacus Cyrus advanced through Syria, for so that part of Mesopotamia which lay above the Scenite Arabs was often called; and having in nine days march made fifty parasangs, came to the river Araxes. By the distance here given, there appears every reason to believe, as has been admitted by previous commentators, that the Araxes of Xenophon is the same as the El-Khabûr of the Arabs and of existing geography, and the Ἀρόρπας of Strabo (xvi. p. 514) and Procopius, the Χαβάρπας of Ptolemy, Ἀρώρπας of Zosimus (III. c. 12), Ἀρούρπας of Isidore of Charax (p. 4. Hudson, *Geo. Minor.*), and Aboras of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxIII. c. 11). There are also many reasons for believing that this river is the same as the Habor of the Scriptures. (1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11.)

If, however, the Carchemish of Scripture (Jeremiah xlvi. 22; Isaiah x. 9) were the same as the Κερκήσιον of Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* xi. c. 5), and the Cercusium or Circesium of the Romans, embellished by Diocletian, and so long a limitrophal city, and now represented by the ruins which arise out of the Arab village

of Kerkisiyeh, (and which, from the circumstances of position, the analogy of name, the statements of Benjamin of Tudela, *Karkesia*, *olim Carcemis dicta, in ripa Euphratis posita*, and of the learned Bochart, *Cercusium viri docti putant esse כרכסיש*. *Carcemis urbem ad Euphratem* (*Geog. Sac. Phaleg.* iv. 21. p. 289) appears very probable;) it is then singular that it should have obtained no notice from Xenophon, who only describes the neighbourhood as characterized by many villages, full of corn and wine.

The country beyond the Araxes, Xenophon describes as Arabia, probably at once from its desert character, and from its being the abode only of Nomade Arabs. The concise and beautiful description given by the author of these wildernesses is familiar to every reader of travel, as applied, and often very unappropriately, to districts presenting very different features. 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίων ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλήρες. εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐντὺν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐστίν. Θηρία δὲ πλεῖστοι μὲν οἱ ἄγριοι ὄνοι, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες. Without being hypercritical and yet to be just, the expression "level as the sea" must be looked upon as somewhat more than the simple fact, but the wormwood (different species of *Artemisia*,) is certainly the most characteristic plant of the wilderness. Ostriches are now scarcely to be met with, but the wild ass or horse is still known to the Arabs of the country. Bustards are common, and the term *δορκάδες* should be translated gazelles, (*ghazal*,) and not roe-deer, as is generally done. Naturalists have long admitted the *Antilope dorcas* as the specific name for the gazelle.

In marching through this country, they came ἐπὶ τὸν Μασκῶν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεβρέετο δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασκῶ κύκλῳ. At a distance corresponding to that which is here given by the historian, and in N. lat. 34° 29' 4", E. long. 40° 59' 15", the Euphrates expedition found a canal, still full of water, and similar to that observed at Balis, which intercepted an extraordinary curve of the river, and which was known to the Arabs by the name of Musah. This plain which was thus peninsulated, and in which Corsote, according to our historian, was situated, did not display any ruins; but there are many fragments of ancient times which crown the summit of cliffs that overlook to the north-east the river Masca and the plain beyond. These ruins are at present designated as Erzi, which appears to be a corruption of Ezrah, and this reminds us of the

Israelite colony on the Euphrates, whence the prophet led his companions in exile to Jerusalem. If so, the Masca will correspond to the Ahava of Scripture.

These ruins of Erzi were first noticed by Rauwolf in 1574, and Balbi in 1579, who, however, from the time which it occupied their boats in sailing round the insulated ruins, gave a very exaggerated idea of their magnitude and extent. Major Rennell admitted the coincidence of position and other circumstances of their ruins with the descriptions given of Corsote by Xenophon.

On their road from Corsote to the Pylæ (Πύλαι) of Babylonia, they perceived a large and populous city situated on the other side of the Euphrates, called Charmande. Bochart (*Chanaan* i. 18. 480), believes this city to be the same as the Chilmad of Scripture (Ezek. xxvii. 23). And from circumstances of position it would appear to correspond to the modern town of Hit, celebrated at present and in all antiquity under the various names of Is, Izanopolis, Ozogardana (Ammian. Lib. xxiv. c. 14), for its bitumen fountains, which were visited by Alexander, Trajan, and Severus. Zosimus (III. cap. 15), who writes it Zaragardia, speaks of the stone throne of Trajan as existing here: ἐν ᾗ βῆμα ὑψηλόν, ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένον, ὃ Τραϊανὸς καλεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ ἐγχώριοι.

The identity of places is not so well established here as in other places, because Xenophon does not indicate the exact distances; but we have the authority of Stephanus that Charmande was not far from the Pylæ.

The Pylæ of Babylonia which were attained after a journey of thirteen days march, or ninety parasangs, through the wilderness, express, apparently, that point where the rocky hills which characterize this part of the country, after the last contraction, recede from the banks of the river and leave a more level and open space to be occupied by the Anti-Babylonian alluvia, and the position of such site, which falls upon the map at a distance of sixty-nine miles south of Hit, and thirty-six miles north of Seifarah, the ancient Sippahra, corresponds with the distances given by Xenophon as near as so great a distance of journey, effected by land, and along the right bank of the river, can be effectually compared with the navigation of the river, including its windings and the actual geographic space occupied, as determined by astronomical observation.

There is a slight difference in the results obtained by comparing the distances entailed by the subsequent movements of the Greeks

up to the time of the battle of Cunaxa, and the corrected distance of that spot from Babylon, which would amount, according to Xenophon, altogether to 108 geographic miles from the Pylæ, while the river navigation of the Euphrates steamer gave a distance of only 102 geographic miles, thus making a difference of not more than six miles, which must be placed rather to the account of the journeys from Corsote to the Pylæ, than to those from the Pylæ to Cunaxa, both from the greater length and greater difficulties of the former. The correction thus made of six miles in a march of thirteen days through an irregular country, would place the Pylæ fourteen instead of eight miles north of Felújah, corresponding with the district in which the hilly country ceases, and the level alluvial plains of Babylonia commence, and four miles below which is the south-western termination of the Challu or Sidd Nimrud—the wall of Media or of Semiramis—and at the extremity of which is a mound of ruins, now called Seïfarah, and corresponding apparently to the Sippara of Ptolemy, and the Sipparenorum Civitas of Abydenus. The millstones mentioned by Xenophon as occurring in these districts have been noticed in my *Researches*, &c. p. 82.

Cyrus next proceeded through the country of Babylon, and after completing twelve parasangs in three days march, he reviewed his forces, both Greeks and barbarians, about midnight. The place at which this took place was 36 geographical miles beyond the Pylæ, and from the other data, 32 geographical miles south of the wall of Media, 36 miles north of Cunaxa, and 72 miles north of Babylon.

From the field of review, Cyrus made in one day's march 3 parasangs, all his forces marching in order of battle, because he expected the king would fight that day; for in the middle of the march, and at a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the field of review, there was a trench cut 4 fathoms broad, and 3 deep; *κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ, βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυαὶ τρεῖς*. The distance marched from the wall of Media southward before arriving at this trench was $36\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Pylæ being 4 miles above Seïfarah at the south-western termination of the wall, and the place of review 36 miles below the gates, or 32 from Seïfarah, and the trench $4\frac{1}{2}$ beyond that.

The point thus arrived at coincides with the position of the Nahr Melik, or royal canal, the chief of the Babylonian canals, and the trench is further described as extending from thence 36 miles upwards to the wall of Media; *Παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἀνω διὰ τοῦ*

πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας, μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους, so that it would have come to within half a mile of the south-western extremity of that wall, as far as it has hitherto been traced near Seifarah. And thus this trench, united on the one hand to the wall, on the other to the royal canal, would have completely separated the invaders from interior Babylonia, and hence the joy of Cyrus, who, on coming within the trench, sent for Silanus the soothsayer, and made him a handsome present.

The statements made at this point by Xenophon regarding the existence, at this early period, of four great canals derived from the Tigris, and intersecting Babylonia, "*Ἐνθα δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσας· εἰσι δὲ τέτταρες*", and their identification with existing canals or beds of canals, and with the canals noticed by other ancient historians, is one which involves too much detail to allow of its discussion here; but a better acquaintance with the hydrographical features both of Babylonia and Chaldea, facilitates the explanation very much, but still not without our being obliged to admit an error on the part of the historian in regard to those canals which he did not see, and which intersected the plain south of the place where the battle of Cunaxa was fought.

The day after Cyrus had passed the trench, the army no longer fearing an engagement, marched with less circumspection, and the third day Cyrus rode in his car, very few marching in the ranks, or observing order, when towards the middle of the same day news suddenly arrived of the appearance of the enemy. Considering the average amount of a day's march from what has preceded, and the irregular and uncertain nature of the last three days march, more than 3 parasangs or 9 geographical miles cannot be allowed for the total distance performed each day. It was the amount marched the day that the army proceeded to the trench in order of battle, and it is not likely to have been exceeded when each was loitering on, almost at his leisure.

The distance, then, thus performed from a point $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the trench, would amount to 27 miles, making a total of 72 miles from the Pylæ, and 68 from the wall of Media, leaving 36 miles to Babylon. In an after-part of his narrative, Xenophon is made to say, in most of the printed editions (II. 2. § 6), that the field of Cunaxa was situated 3060 stadia from Babylon, which would carry the field of battle north of the Khabur, and must therefore be a mistake. We are indebted to the industry of Larcher for clearing up this difficult point. This scholar's researches on the sub-

ject were followed by the successful discovery, that in several copies of Xenophon in the king of France's library, the amount given is only 360 stadia, and this has since been corroborated by the reading of a manuscript copy of the text preserved at Eton. It is to Plutarch, in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, that we are indebted for the name of the place Cunaxa, and he lends additional testimony to the brevity of the distance from Babylon, by making that distance 500 stadia. It is remarkable, that by following this line of reasoning and adaptation of marches which we have made, to the distances obtained by the river navigation, that Cunaxa falls within 33 miles of the Mujalibah, and 36 geographical miles, or 360 stadia from Hillah, and would thus appear to be represented by the modern Imseyab, or Musseibah, a small Arab town on the Euphrates. And this view of the question will be further elucidated by the detail of the occurrences which took place after the death of Cyrus, and the retreat of the army to Sitace by the wall of Media.

W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH.

XIV.

CERTAIN POINTS IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF HERODOTUS, ILLUSTRATED, FROM NIEBUHR (*KLEINE SCHRIFTEN*, pp. 196—200), AND DAHLMANN'S *HERODOT. (FORSCHUNGEN AUF DEM GEBIETE DER GESCHICHTE*, II. 1.)

IN Niebuhr's Essay on the Chronicon of Eusebius (*Kl. Schr.* p. 196, sqq.) we have the following remarks:—Herodotus says, in a well-known passage (II. 145), that Hercules was about 900 years before his time. By what reckoning? Not by the genealogy of the kings of Sparta, for this numbered only some one and twenty generations back to Hercules,—that is, by his own rule, 700 years. But with Herodotus not only the heroic families of Greece are Heracleids, but the Assyrian kings and the elder Lydian dynasty too (I. 7): for we cannot distinguish *Belus* and *Ninus*, the grandfather and the father of Agron, from the Assyrian kings so named: such a genealogy simply indicates that this Lydian dynasty came from Assyria.

These Heracleids reigned in Lydia 505 years: after them the Mermnadae 170 years, ending Ol. 58. 1. Thence to the 90th

Olympiad, which is probably the date of which Herodotus speaks *as the present time*, are 128 years. Add 100 years for the three generations from Hercules to Agron, and we have in all 903 years.

Now let us reckon the periods of the Assyrian history :

Two generations between Hercules and Ninus.....	66
Assyrian Empire in Upper Asia	520
Anarchy of the Medes	
Four kings of Media (i. 130).....	150
Cyrus to the taking of Babylon	20
From Ol. 60. 1, to Ol. 90. 1.	120
Total, exclusive of the Anarchy	876

Remains for the Anarchy, 900—876, = 24 years

From Ninus to the taking of Babylon (*exclusive of this anarchy*) are 690 years. Now, taking the years of the Niniadae from Berosus at 526, adding 103 (Nabonassar's dynasty) to Nabopolassar, and 87 from thence to the taking of Babylon, we obtain 716 years for the same period, *inclusive of the anarchy*: and thus again we get 26 years for it, within 2 years of the former reckoning. And a short space—not more than a generation—seems the probable one to allow.

The passage in Herod. i. 130, ἀρξάντες τῆς ἀνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἑρεα τρήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα, παρέξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον, is very difficult; witness the interpretations of Conring, Harduin, Bouhier, and Valckenaer. All the MSS. give the sum of the four reigns as 150 years, and all, in two places, make the Scythian power 28 years. Valckenaer's explanation (with all respect to that great man) seems the greatest failure of all¹. It is quite against the author's meaning to say that these 28 years were not included in the 40 of Cyaxares; and granting that the Median empire did not exist in the lifetime of Deïoces, still it is unjustifiable to fix it in the 2nd year of Phraortes, for no other reason than that the 100 years are thus brought out. And besides, if this were so, how could Herodotus express this by saying that the Medes had the empire 100 years?

[¹ Valckenaer remarks that the empire did not exist in the time of Deïoces (who reigned 53 years): Phraortes conquered, first the Persians, and then all Asia; say in his 2nd year. He reigned (22 years in all) say..... 21
Cyaxares reigned (*exclusive of the Scythian invasion*)..... 40
Scythian invasion..... 28
Astyages reigned (35, λέ, but Valck. reads λθ') 39

No doubt Conring² is right, in saying, that, if there is no corruption, the 28 years must be *added* to the 128; and we must just take notice of the fact, that there were no subject-states in the time of Deïoces. But why fix a point at which this empire of Asia shall commence? How can a year be fixed for it at all? The Median dominion certainly did not extend to the Halys before the taking of Nineveh. Whether we take $128 + 28 = 156$ years, or take the 150 years of the four kings, is all one; the anarchy only varies six years. But the important point—and this *is* important—is, that the account of Herodotus should be confirmed by its harmony with the Babylonian³, and his accuracy should thus be established.

The passage, however, (Niebuhr proceeds to say) *is* corrupt: the numbers 28 and 128 (the latter being inconsistent with the statement) make this more than probable. It should apparently be supplied and transposed thus: ἐπ' ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, παρὲς ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκίθαι ἤρχον, τρήκοντα δυνὴν δέοντα. Perhaps an editor bye and bye will have the courage to insert this correction in the text.

[Niebuhr assumes for Herodotus' own time, Ol. 90. 1. (B. C. 420), in spite of the account of Lucian, also found in the life of Thucydides, that he read his history at the Olympic Games, and enchanted the people, and inspired Thucydides (then a boy) with the resolution to become a historian. He contents himself with saying that, even if this deserves credit, it can only apply to the first sketch of his work, mentioned in different parts of it, down to the Peloponnesian war.

This has been discussed more at length by Dahlmann in his *Herodot.* (*Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, B. II. 1.) His conclusions are the following:—]

This recitation must have been in Ol. 81. 1, B. C. 456, or at latest, Ol. 82. 1, B. C. 452, when Thucydides was 15, or 19 years

[² Conring reckons as follows:—

Deïoces	53
Phraortes	22
Cyaxares (including Scyth.).....	40
Astyages	35

150

As $128 + 28 = 156$ years, he supposes *six* to have been the period of anarchy before the reign of Deïoces: and reckons from the *independence* of the Medes, not their empire.]

³ This is shewn again by the period assigned to the Assyrian dominion over Babylon by Berosus, 526 years: for Herodotus gives the duration of this empire at 520 years.—The difference, being only between a round and a precise number, shews that Herodotus collected his materials for this part of his history at Babylon. —(I. 95, 102).

old. But even in the latter year Herodotus was only 32. And so we are to suppose that all his travels were over, his materials arranged, his history *finished*, except in minute points (for the nine books were then named after the nine muses) at that early date. Again, Aeschylus died in Ol. 81. 1, (456): yet Herodotus (ii. 156) calls him *παιτρῶν τῶν προγενομένων*. Let us think too, of the annoyance of a man chanting (*ᾄδων*) nine books of history in the open air, without any protection to himself or his hearers from the sun in the month of July! And as for the possibility of such an assemblage hearing him, see Lucian himself, *de morte Peregrini*, pp. 343, 354. Public readings, and even panegyrics, were later inventions; but as for an impartial history like that of Herodotus, this is at no time the thing to tickle the ears of a national assembly. The fact is, that it is a sheer invention of Lucian himself, who never could have dreamt of finding himself converted into an historical authority. Earlier than the time of Lucian it could not have been, or Plutarch must have noticed it and explained it away, where he tells us of Herodotus having atrociously libelled all the Greeks, except the Athenians, who bribed him.

[To illustrate this and other matters, Dahlmann gives a table of events, mentioned by Herodotus incidentally, which occurred after what is usually considered the close of his history.]

	B. C.
v. 32. Pausanias negotiates with Xerxes (Thuc. i. 128), about	477
vii. 107. (cf. 113) Heroism of Boges, when besieged in Eïon } by Cimon (Thuc. i. 98), about..... }	476
vii. 170. Tarentines and Rhegians defeated by the Iapygian Messapians (Diod. xi. 52): (N. B. Herodotus calls this the greatest loss which the Hellenes had met with: this, therefore, was <i>written</i> before the dis- aster in Sicily, B. C. 413):—about	474
vi. 72. Death of Leotychides in exile, not before	467
vii. 106. Death of Xerxes, accession of Artaxerxes	465
ix. 33, 35. (So called) <i>third</i> Messenian war, from	464 to 454
vii. 7. Revolt of Inaros in Egypt	460
ix. 35. Battle of Tanagra	457
i. 156. Aeschylus mentioned as dead	456
iii. 12. The son of Inaros succeeds him, with the sanction of the Persians..... }	455
ix. 75. Defeat of Athenians by the Edoni?.....	453
[Herodotus settles in Magna Graecia, aet. 40	444]
v. 93. Prophecy of Hippas about the Corinthians, proba- bly thought to have been fulfilled in the events which led to the Peloponnesian War	43½

	[Peloponnesian War, Herodotus 53 years old.....	B.C. 431]
vii. 23.	Theban attack on Plataea, first overt act in the Peloponnesian War (<i>Marcell. Vit. Thuc.</i>).....	431
iv. 80.	Sitalces named as a well-known character: not before	431½
vii. 137.	Seizure and death of the Spartan ambassadors to Persia (<i>Thuc. ii. 67</i>).	430
vii. 151.	Callias sent as ambassador to Artaxerxes, apparently between 431 and.....	425
iii. 160.	Megabyzus takes refuge with the Athenians, and dies in their attack on Caunus (according to Ctesias, this would seem to be a little before the death of Artaxerxes, <i>i. e.</i>) before	425
vii. 114.	Barbarity of <i>Amestris</i> , widow of Xerxes, in her old age. According to Ctesias (<i>Pers. § 43</i> ,) she died <i>κάπτα γράψ γενομένη</i> , and, it would appear, very little before Artaxerxes, <i>i. e.</i> shortly before	425
vi. 98.	Reign of Artaxerxes spoken of as at an end; consequently written <i>after</i>	425
ix. 73.	Kindness shewn to Decelæa by the Spartans. N.B. This is so contrary to what <i>Thuc. ii. 23</i> , says of the ravage of the district in which Decelæa lay, that it can only be understood of their establishing themselves at Decelæa, which they did	413
i. 130.	Revolt and reduction of the Medes (<i>Xen. Hell. i. 2, fin.</i>)	409
iii. 15.	Death of Amyrtaeus (<i>Euseb. Chron.</i>).....	408

This last passage must have been written by Herodotus when he was at least 77 years old.

If the above extracts shall induce any competent person to translate the whole of Dahlmann's little work⁴, they will be the means of conferring a great benefit on future students of Herodotus in England⁵.

R. SCOTT.

⁴ Excepting the translation of the account of the battle of Plataea, which somewhat needlessly occupies pp. 190-212.

⁵ The late Mr. Talboys of Oxford,

had designed to publish such a translation, but we know not whether anything has been done in the matter since his death.

XV.

ON ARISTOTLE'S DEFINITION OF TRAGEDY.

THE annals of criticism might probably be searched in vain for a passage that has excited so much discussion as Aristotle's Definition of Tragedy. No two commentators are entirely agreed in their views of it; and the mass of contradiction which has been accumulated around it, offers a formidable obstacle to the inquirer. To the brevity and obscurity of the original text this is, doubtless, in a great measure, attributable; but something also may be ascribed to a want of care and discrimination on the part of those critics who have employed themselves about it. And, though there may be much truth in Twining's assertion, that "what was precisely Aristotle's meaning, and the whole of his meaning, will never be the subject of a perfect stoical *κατάληψις* to any man"—yet diligence and due acuteness, and, above all, the labours of preceding scholars, may possibly pave the way for a near approximation to it. To attempt this difficult exploit is the object of the following pages. They do not profess to enter into any investigation of principles, or to decide whether Aristotle's were right or wrong, perfect or imperfect; but simply to inquire what he really laid down as such: and therefore the limited nature of the plan must be the apology for any dryness in the execution of it. And the writer of them will be amply rewarded should they excite some abler hand to lift the veil which has hitherto wrapped the subject in doubt and obscurity.

The original text, as given in Tyrwhitt's edition of the *Poetics*, runs as follows, (§ 4.)

"Ἔστω οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένη λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἐκάστη τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις· δρώτων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας· δι' ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαινούσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν· which Twining renders thus,—“Tragedy, then, is an imitation of some *action*, that is *important*, *entire*, and of a proper *magnitude*—by *language* embellished and rendered *pleasurable*, but by different *means* in different parts—in the *way* not of *narration* but of *action*—effecting through *pity* and *terror* the *correction* and *refinement* of such passions.”

It may be right to premise that Tyrwhitt's text contains two emendations from the hand of that eminent critic, and which have

both very properly been adopted by Hermann; although, as is too frequently his manner, they are given *tacitly*; a course fair neither to his readers nor to Tyrwhitt. Before the latter's edition the Vulgate had *ἐκάστου* for *ἐκάστω*, and *ἀλλὰ* after *ἀπαγγελίας*, which Tyrwhitt struck out. Neither of these emendations is important so far as Aristotle's *theory* is concerned; although the latter, for which there is the authority of two MSS., has the merit of making sense out of nonsense. For there will probably be but few inclined to acquiesce in the defence of the Vulgate which has been set up, with more ingenuity than discretion, by the celebrated Lessing, who, in his "*Dramaturgie*," is of opinion that Aristotle, in the above definition, uses the words "*pity and fear*" by a sort of *enallage* for tragedy itself, which excites those emotions; a mode of expression not at all in accordance with Aristotle's style, and fitter for poetry itself than for a philosophical treatise upon it'.

But to return to Aristotle's definition. Its chief difficulty (so far as the end and object of tragedy are concerned) lies in the concluding words—*δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*—which, on examination, will suggest two separate heads of doubt and inquiry: viz.

1. What is the true Aristotelian meaning of *ἔλεος* and *φόβος* in connexion with tragic imitation, and, consequently, of *τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων*?

2. What are we to understand by "effecting the correction and refinement of such passions" (*περαίνουσα τὴν κάθαρσιν*?) and, collaterally, whether Aristotle ascribed any moral end to tragedy?

It has been seen above that Twining renders *φόβος* by *terror*; and so also Hermann, *miseratione et terrore*. But terror is a very violent and uncontrollable emotion, belonging rather to our *physical* than *moral* being; whilst pity is of a soft and gentle nature, and a passion of quite a different stamp. They are here, however, ranked together; and what is more, they are expressly referred to the same class by the word *τοιούτων*—such (or *similar*) passions. If "terror," then, be the right version, we might question either the accuracy of Aristotle's ideas or the precision of his style, that he should thus have coupled and included in one predicament two

¹ "Und nur dieses, dass unser Mitleid durch die Erzählung wenig oder gar nicht, sondern fast einzig und allein durch die gegenwärtige Anschauung erregt wird, nur dieses berechtigte ihn,

in der Erklärung, anstatt der Form der Sache, die Sache gleich selbst zu setzen, weil diese Sache nur dieser einzigen Form fähig ist."—*Dramat.* p. 347, (Berlin Ed. 1839).

passions so entirely dissimilar. But as neither of these is a fault that Aristotle is usually guilty of, we might, only from this circumstance, be led to doubt the correctness of this version, even if there were no other reasons tending to a like result.

Lessing, in his *Dramaturgie*, is, I believe, the only critic who has pointed out and illustrated the true meaning of φόβος in the above definition. In his view it is not *terror* (schrecken) that Aristotle means, but *fear* (furcht); that sort of fear, namely, or apprehension which we experience on beholding our like (τὸν ὅμιον) in misfortunes into which it is not improbable that fate or fortune may plunge ourselves*. This explanation has not only the merit of originality, but of being based upon one of the soundest principles of criticism—that of making an author his own interpreter. And not only is it borne out by the whole tenor of the *Poetic*, but it is further confirmed by the *Rhetoric*, both works so intimately connected that we are occasionally referred by their author from one to the other, for the illustration or development of some idea which may not have been sufficiently explained.

The close connexion held by Aristotle to exist between pity and fear *for ourselves*, may be shown from several passages of the *Rhetoric*. It will be sufficient to quote the two following: "Ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν φοβερά ἐστιν ὅσα ἐφ' ἐτέρων γιγνόμενα ἢ μέλλοντα ἐλεεινὰ εἶναι. Lib. II. 5—12 (and, to speak generally, those things inspire fear, which happening to, or impending over others, are pitiable). Again, καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐλεοῦσιν κατὰ ἡλικίαν, κατὰ ἥβη, κατὰ ἕξεις, κατὰ ἀξιώματα, κατὰ γένη· ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις μᾶλλον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτῷ ἂν ὑπάρξαι. Ὅλως γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ λαβεῖν ὅτι ὅσα ἐφ' αὐτῶν φοβοῦνται ταῦτα ἐπ' ἄλλων γιγνόμενα ἐλεοῦσιν. L. II. 8. 13. (Men also pity those who are their equals in age, in manners, in disposition, in dignity, and in family; since from all these circumstances it seems more probable that the same thing will happen to themselves. For we must here also universally assume, that men pity those accidents of others which excite dread for themselves).

It is in this intimate connexion of the two passions that we must seek the true key to Aristotle's theory. In the latter passage too, we are to trace the reason why the character of the tragic hero must be neither too good nor too bad, but bear some resemblance to that of the great mass of mankind. Fear and pity are gentle emotions, easily expelled by some stronger passion. Thus the

* V. *Dramaturgie*, p. 336.

sight of an eminently virtuous man overwhelmed with undeserved misfortunes, is of too painful a nature, and calculated to excite indignation and despair, rather than fear and pity. It is not pitiable, but *μαρόν*—revolting, or disgusting. The stronger passion drives out the weaker. The same thing happens when the circumstances attending any catastrophe are of too horrid and revolting a nature; as the murder of very near relations. These are not pitiable, but horrifying—*τὸ γὰρ δεινὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐλεεινοῦ καὶ ἐκκρουστικὸν τοῦ ἐλέου, καὶ πολλάκις τῷ ἐναντίῳ χρήσιμον. Rhet. II. 8. 12.* (For the dreadful is a very different thing from the pitiable, and even expulsive of pity, and, often useful for the contrary purpose). Yet the mere impending of such horrible calamities, provided they do not actually occur, and are only in prospect, is calculated to excite pity (*—ἔτι ἐλεῶσιν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαινοῦ ὄντος.—Ibid.*) because there is all the high-wrought painful interest, without the actual horror and disgust. And accordingly a catastrophe of this description is considered by Aristotle as the most suitable for tragedy. (*Poet. κ'*, p. 46.) And now it is easy to see how erroneously *φόβος* is rendered by *terror*; for it cannot be denied that such horrible misfortunes are well calculated to arouse that passion, although they drive out that species of *sympathetic fear* which it is the proper end of tragedy to excite.

Neither must the tragic hero be too bad a man—*ὁ σφόδρα πονηρός*—for in that case his misfortunes will excite neither pity nor fear. (*Poet. § κε'.*) Not pity, because that is bestowed on undeserved calamity; not fear, because that is only excited by the reverses of one whose character resembles our own. But though the calamities which befall such a man be neither fearful nor pitiable, still they are said to kindle in the breast an emotion not altogether foreign to tragic interest, namely, *τὸ φιλόανθρωπον*, or the feeling of philanthropy. For though Aristotle does not consider the exciting of such a feeling to be the main or proper end of tragedy, yet we may infer from a passage of the *Poetic*, where it is coupled with the fearful and the pitiable, that it is not altogether alien from it. The passage alluded to, is in *§ κε'*, where, speaking of a catastrophe in which good fortune ultimately attends the wicked, he remarks that it is quite unsuitable to tragedy, since it possesses nothing that it ought—neither the philanthropic, nor the pitiable, nor the fearful. (*οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ φιλόανθρωπον οὔτε ἐλεεινὸν οὔτε φοβερόν ἐστιν*). And, in *§ λβ'*, p. 60, the tragic and philanthropic are again mentioned as closely allied (*τραγικὸν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ φιλόανθρωπον*).

The use of *φιλάνθρωπον* in these passages helps to illustrate the true meaning of the *φόβον* and *ἐλεεινόν*, and to throw some light on what Aristotle understood by the words *τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων*. For philanthropy (as well as fear and pity—taken in the true Aristotelian sense as above explained) belongs to those sympathetic emotions which link us to our kind. And hence, perhaps, we may infer that Aristotle, by the words *similar passions*, understood all such emotions.

It may be proper here to advert to two different, and even opposite, significations which commentators have in this place attributed to the word *φιλάνθρωπον*. Both, indeed, denote sympathy with our kind; but one enlists that sympathy for the criminal hero represented on the stage; the other directs it towards the spectators who rejoice in his punishment.

The former of these interpretations is adopted by Lessing (*Dramaturgie*, p. 343), who maintains that Aristotle does not mean the satisfaction which we feel at the deserved punishment of the criminal, but the sympathetic feelings of humanity which are awakened in us by the actual sufferings of the man. This would countenance the modern morbid sensibility for malefactors. It does not, however, appear to have been Aristotle's meaning. For let us examine what he says:

Speaking of the various catastrophes suitable for tragedy (§ κε'), he tells us that "the bad must not become happy from unhappy; for this is the most untragic of all, and has not a single thing it ought, neither the philanthropic, the pitiable, nor the fearful: nor again, should it be a thoroughly wicked man who undergoes a change from good fortune to bad. For though such a plot may possess the philanthropic, yet it hath in it neither pity nor fear."

To support Lessing's opinion it would be necessary to draw a very broad distinction between pity for a criminal, and a philanthropic feeling towards him. Yet he admits (p. 344) that we correctly class that feeling under the name of pity; though, to justify his interpretation, he contends that the term is here used to distinguish our feelings on such an occasion from that highest grade of pity which is mixed up with *fear for ourselves*.

This is sufficiently ingenious. But in order to show how repugnant it is to all the feelings by which men are usually actuated, it will be sufficient to mention, that Lessing himself, in another place, speaking of the unfitness of Richard's character *for tragedy*, says it is so devilish and horrid that we could see him *surrendered to the torments of hell itself, without feeling the least*

compassion for him. It is true that, not entirely to contradict his former explanation of philanthropy as a sort of pity unconnected with fear for ourselves, he inserts the saving clause—"without in the least fearing that if such punishment wait only on such crimes, it is likely to attend ourselves¹." But it would be difficult, perhaps, to reconcile philanthropy, even thus modified and defined, with the feeling above described in the case of Richard.

It would be uncritical, however, to rest the interpretation of any passage in Aristotle on a vague appeal to the general sense of mankind. It will be far better to adopt Lessing's excellent principle, and to let Aristotle speak for himself; who, in the second book of his *Rhetoric* (cap. ix. 4) has the following words on this subject: 'Ο μὲν γὰρ λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναξίως κακοπραγοῦσιν ἡσθήσεται ἡ δ' αὖτις ζῆται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίως κακοπραγοῦσιν. Οἷον τοὺς πατρολοῖας καὶ μαυφόνους, ὅταν τύχῃσι τιμωρίας, οὐδεὶς ἂν λυπηθεῖν χρηστός· δεῖ γὰρ χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις· ὥς δ' αὖτις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι κατ' ἀξίαν. ἄμφω γὰρ δίκαια, καὶ ποιεῖ χαίρειν τὸν ἐπιεικῆ. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐπιζῆναι, ἰπάρξαι ἂν, ἅπερ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ, καὶ αὐτῇ. (For he who is touched with grief for those who suffer undeservedly, will either rejoice, or at least be indifferent, for the calamities of the wicked. Thus, no good man would feel sorrow when parricides or assassins meet with their deserts; for it behoves him rather to rejoice over them in like manner as over those whose merit is rewarded by success; for both these events are just, and calculated to fill the virtuous man with pleasure; since he cannot but expect that what happens to his like will happen to himself.)

In answer, then, to the first question proposed in this inquiry, it seems preferable to adopt Lessing's interpretation, viz. that the pity and fear which Aristotle meant are those excited by the consideration of human events in *relation to ourselves*, and that neither can exist without some admixture of the other. A shorter phrase might be—*human sympathy*; or, in the beautiful words of Terence, "*homo sum: nil humanum a me alienum puto.*" And thus we shall understand how philanthropy comes to be joined with those passions, and comprehend the general nature

¹ "Aber er ist so ein abscheulicher Kerl, so ein eingeheilchter Teufel, in dem wir so völlig keinen einzigen ähnlichen Zug mit uns selbst finden, dass ich glaube, wir könnten ihn vor unsern Augen den Martern der Hölle übergeben

sehen ohne das geringste für ihn zu empfinden, ohne im geringsten zu fürchten, dass wenn solche Strafe nur auf solche Verbrechen folge, sie auch unsrer erwarte."—*Dramat.* p. 364.

of those emotions, which Aristotle included under the words
τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων.

It would be improper to dismiss this part of the subject without adverting to the manner in which this definition has been treated by Hermann in his edition of the *Poetic*. That critic hardly attempts to develope or explain Aristotle's theory; but flatly telling the reader that the Stagirite knew nothing of what he was talking about, summarily dismisses fear and pity from having the least share in effecting the object of tragedy, and substitutes for them a vague and indefinite affection of the understanding rather than the heart, namely, *sublimity*; than which it is impossible to conceive any thing more remote from—if it be not absolutely opposed to—the sympathetic emotions⁴. And, even in his own method of reasoning; namely, an appeal to what we moderns experience after having been spectators of a *modern* tragedy, he does not seem to have succeeded in establishing this *sublime* discovery, which Aristotle had so unaccountably overlooked. For, to judge of men's sentiments by their discourse, though we frequently hear a tragedy commended as very *pathetic*, it is but seldom that one is spoken of as being *sublime*. And if this be so, Hermann's discovery will suit neither antient nor modern tragedy.

The source of Hermann's misconception lies, probably, in a misunderstanding of what Aristotle meant by the words τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων. In common with many other commentators he makes Aristotle talk about a *κάθαρσις* of the *soul* (*purgatio animi*). But the great philosopher says not a word about the soul. All he says is—the *κάθαρσις* of similar passions. Now what did he mean by the term *κάθαρσις*?

The investigation of this point leads to the second head of this inquiry, and which is inseparably bound up with the question, Whether Aristotle ascribed any moral end to tragedy?

The view which Aristotle takes of the drama throughout the *Poetic* is one purely of art. Tragedy and comedy, like painting

⁴ " Quid sibi velit Aristoteles unumquemque qui tragedias spectaverit, facile sensus suus docebit. Animo commotus e spectaculo redimus, sed ea est hæc commotio quæ ab omni humilitate ab omni inhonestâ cupiditate aliena sit. Cujus rei causam non recte indicavit Aristoteles qui tragediam dicat δι' ἐλέου και

φόβου περαίνουσιν τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Non enim per miserationem et terrorem istiusmodi purgatio animi efficitur sed per sublimitatem, quam quum omnium maxime in tragediæ definitione commemorare Aristoteles deberet omnium minime tetigit, &c. Hermann's *Arist. Poet.* p. 116.

and sculpture, are regarded merely in the light of imitations, owing their origin to the *physical* constitution of man, which causes him to delight both in imitating himself, and in beholding the imitations of others; and the object of this talent, when exerted in the way of tragedy, is repeatedly said to be merely the pleasure arising from pathetic imitation⁵. With the exception of the doubtful passage under consideration, there is nothing to show that he looked to a moral end as being the object of the drama, any more than it is that of other imitative arts; and this, notwithstanding that its very nature renders it infinitely more capable of being so directed. The whole question, therefore, hangs on the interpretation of the single word *κάθαρσις*.

Twining, after Heinsius, is of opinion that Aristotle is here tacitly insinuating a defence of imitative poetry (he is clearly not openly stating one), from the objections urged against it by Plato in the tenth book of his *Republic*⁶. The tenor of Plato's argument certainly lends some little colour to this hypothesis. Contemplating, like Aristotle, mimetic poetry as turning chiefly on the happiness or misery resulting from human actions⁷, he goes on to ascribe to the passions, thus raised by the mimic scene, an influence on the conduct of private life, and a nourishing of those softer emotions which are calculated to unfit us for the severe and manly duties of a citizen. So far the charge relates to the sympathetic emotions, to the raising of which Aristotle confines the purposes of tragedy. Plato, however, does not stop here, but includes the more violent and active passions, as lust, anger, &c.⁸ The defence, therefore, to have been complete, should have embraced these objections also. But further, Plato's charge is, not that these emotions should be excited in a gross or unrefined state, but that they should be excited at all. He would banish them entirely from the soul; and therefore the *soul* (ἡ ψυχὴ) is continually introduced as the object of purgation. But it has been shewn that Aristotle alludes only to the *κάθαρσις* of such passions or affections

⁵ See cap. xiii. 13. cap. xiv. 4 & 5. cap. xxiii. 1, &c. (Hermann's Ed.)

⁶ See his 45th Note. Vol. II. p. 14.

⁷ Πράττοντας ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖται ἡ μιμητικὴ βίαιους ἢ ἐκουσίας πράξεις· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν ἢ εὖ ολομένους ἢ κακῶς πεπραγμένους· καὶ ἐν τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν ἢ λυπουμένοις ἢ χαιρόντας. *Resp.*

Lib. x. 603 D.

⁸ Καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δὴ καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν τε καὶ λυπηρῶν καὶ ἡδέων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἃ δὴ φασὲν πάσῃ πράξει ἡμῖν ἔπνεσθαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιητικὴ μίμησις ἐργάζεται· τρέφει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀρδουσα, δέον αὐχμεῖν. *Resp.* Lib. x. p. 606. D.

of the soul. So far from banishing them, all his rules are contrived for the purpose of exciting them in the highest degree. And had he thought that the result of such a process would have been like a sort of homœopathy, to expel such passions from the subject of them, he was surely bound to do more than leave such a doctrine to be inferred by the reader—a doctrine not only diametrically opposed to Plato's, but also to common sense and ordinary experience.

But the method which Twining himself has adopted to establish the true meaning of *κάθαρσις*, and which is the same unexceptionable one which Lessing made use of to explain *φόβος* and *ἔλεος*, leads, apparently, to the overthrow of his own hypothesis. For this purpose he refers to the 8th book of Aristotle's *Politics* (cap. vii.) where the term is, in some degree, illustrated and explained. The *κάθαρσις*, indeed, there alluded to is to be effected by music; but as the passions which are its object are *fear* and *pity* as well as enthusiasm, we may infer that the meaning which suits that passage will also be applicable to the present; especially as Aristotle there refers to a passage in the *Poetic*—either never written, or lost among the ruins of time—for a fuller explanation of the term. Now it is there explained by, *pleasurable relief**—*κουφίζεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς*. No moral end is adverted to, but simply the *pleasure* arising from the process. Nay, so far from this being the case, *κάθαρσις* is there expressly opposed to *παιδεία*—instruction or improvement. *Φαμὲν δ' οὐ μᾶς ἔνεκεν ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείωνων χάριν· καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἔνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως· τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πουρτικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον*. But this part of the passage Twining has very prudently thought proper to suppress. And in like manner in the preceding chapter *κάθαρσις* is opposed to *μάθησις*⁹.

On these grounds it seems that Batteux arrived at a perfectly just conclusion in confining Aristotle's meaning to the *immediate pleasure* of the emotion, and in making that pleasure spring from imitation. Now what are Twining's objections to this conclusion? They are—

First, the general one (which he calls "a difficulty not easily surmounted," Vol. II. p. 13), that "it supposes all the purgation

⁹ ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἠθικὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τοῖς τοιοῦτοις αὐτῷ καιροῖς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται ἢ μάθησις. *Pol. Lib. viii. cap. 6.*

to consist merely in rendering the feeling of the passion pleasurable; not in any *good effect* which the *habit* of such emotion may produce in correcting, refining, or moderating, such passions when excited by real objects." This, however, is merely saying in other words that he objects to Batteux's interpretation, and supporting his own rather by what he conceives Aristotle ought to have said, than by what he did say. For he admits that "Aristotle has not said any thing directly pointing to such effect," and that "the phrase *κουφίεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς* does indeed appear to express the *present effect* only;" yet he thinks that "the whole turn and cast of his expression (in the passage from the *Politics*) is such as leads one naturally to conclude that it was his meaning." The words from which this conclusion is deduced, are *κάθαρσις*, *λατρεία*, *δoleήμονας*, *φοβητικούς*, *παθητικούς*. With regard to the first, Aristotle himself explains it by *κουφίεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς*. That the meaning of *λατρεία* in that passage was not very widely different from that of *κάθαρσις*, we may fairly infer from their being coupled together—*ὥσπερ λατρείας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως*. But there are other turns in the phrase which would lead us to conclude that its operation was regarded as only temporary. Thus we find, *ὅταν χρῆσονται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν μέλει*—"Whensoever they may make use of;" pointing plainly to *repetition*, and therefore no permanent effect. And even the words *δoleήμονας*, *παθητικούς*, *φοβητικούς* which Twining appeals to in confirmation of his idea, as "being all words expressive of *habitual excess*, requiring correction and moderation," would seem, if they prove any thing, rather to make against his notion. For, if these passions are habitual and constantly recurring, it shews that the *κάθαρσις* (or *λατρεία*) has not permanently removed them, but only afforded a temporary relief. They are in the nature of chronic disorders which cannot thoroughly be cured, but which may be palliated when the fit is on.

But, secondly, the argument on which Twining mainly relies as overthrowing Batteux's idea is, "That Aristotle is here, as Heinsius and others have well observed, evidently combating the doctrine of Plato, whose great objection to tragedy was, that it feeds and inflames the passions." The force of this argument having been already examined, it is unnecessary again to touch upon it; and therefore it will suffice to remark, first—that this, so far from being *evident*, is a mere conjecture resting on no very tenable grounds; and secondly, that it is in the nature of a *petitio principii*, since it assumes that, by *κάθαρσις*, Aristotle meant the freeing of the soul from certain passions.

Upon the whole matter, it will, perhaps, appear, that Aristotle did not attribute any moral effect to tragedy, but regarded solely the *pleasure* which it is calculated to produce as a work of art; and that by the *κάθαρσις* (or purgation) of pity, fear, and the like passions, he contemplated only the pleasurable relief which follows on the excitement of them. For that such emotions, when awakened by imitative poetry, are capable of affording pleasure, is an undoubted fact in our constitution, however we may be puzzled to account for it.

The reader will see that the conclusions arrived at in the foregoing paper make no pretence to originality, but are merely selected from amongst those of various critics. Thus Lessing is followed in the interpretation of *ἔλεος* and *φόβος*; Twining in that of *φιλάνθρωπον*; and Batteux in that of *κάθαρσις*. And it is for him to decide whether this selection brings us nearer to the probable meaning of Aristotle than the version of any single commentator.

One objection is obvious enough. The *φιλάνθρωπον*, it is said, may be excited where fear and pity are not; how, then, can it be called one of those passions which are purged by their means? But this would be to press the words of the definition too closely. To excite fear and pity, and to afford them a pleasurable relief, is the *proper end* of tragedy, and therefore they alone are mentioned in the definition. To have included not only its main, but also its collateral and less proper objects, the definition must have been extended to an absurd and inconvenient length; and something must be allowed for the brevity of a treatise that is evidently incomplete. We may, however, infer, that the *κάθαρσις* of the emotions included under the words *τῶν τοιούτων πάθηματων*, was to be effected in the same manner as that of fear and pity—namely, by the very exercise and excitement of them.

Since the foregoing pages were prepared for publication, the writer of them has had the pleasure of perusing an essay, or rather a series of essays, upon the *Poetic*, from the pen of Professor Von Raumer, published in the *Historisches Taschenbuch* (*Dritter Jahrgang* 1842). The writer was glad to see that the accomplished author of them also adopts Lessing's true and ingenious explanation of *ἔλεος* and *φόβος*; but as he affixes a different meaning to *κάθαρσις* than the one sought to be established in the above paper, and maintains that a moral end was contemplated by Aristotle, it will, perhaps, be allowable to advert, so

far as time and space will permit, to the more prominent points in his argument¹⁰.

Even admitting that *κάθαρσις* meant a permanent moderation of the passions, still it is clear that, if Aristotle considered tragedy as working upon fear and pity *alone*, or, at most on those and a few *similar* passions—there is very nearly an end of the question, as to its *moral* effect: for, of all passions, these are the most slightly connected with morality, and have but a slender influence on our social duties, unless it were in the visionary Republic of Plato. M. Von Raumer could not but see this; and as the whole point turns upon how we construe the words τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων, it becomes a capital object to determine their sense. M. Von Raumer states two interpretations of them: one, of those who take them to signify the *like and all other* passions; and another, of those who, with Lessing, restrict them to fear and pity *alone*; and thinks it possible that both may be reconciled¹¹.

But it may be remarked, that this statement contains, not *two* but *three* interpretations; viz. "these and *the like* passions," "these and *all other* passions," and "these two passions *alone*," and though one of the first two contains a *limited*, the other an *unlimited* predicate, yet M. Von Raumer runs them both into one. He justifies this by an appeal to certain passages of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetic* (in his note); but these do not seem to bear him out. In the quotation from the *Rhetoric* (II. i. 8.) ὀργή, ἔλεος, φόβος, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα,) Aristotle is alluding to such passions as may influence the judgment of mankind; and as anger may effect this, as well as pity or fear, they are, *in that respect*, of one kind, and may be classed together. So, again, in the second quotation, (B. II. xii. 2.) λέγω δὲ πάθῃ μὲν ὀργὴν, ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, he is merely alluding to their *general nature*, as passions; and the τὰ τοιαῦτα means nothing more than an *et cetera*. The same remark applies to the passages quoted from the *Rhetoric*, I. xi.

¹⁰ Had Aristotle used the word *κάθαρσις* in its ordinary sense, he would hardly have referred us (in the passage of the *Politics* viii. 7) to the *Poetic* for an explanation of it.

¹¹ Warum soll die Tragödie bloss Mitleid und Furcht, und nicht alle Leidenschaften reinigen? Sie soll, laut Aristoteles, *alle* reinigen, sagen diejenigen, welche die Worte τῶν τοιούτων übersetzen: "und die ähnlichen, die vorgestellten, *alle andere* Leidenschaften." Innen widerspricht Lessing, nebst allen denen welche übersetzen oder deuten: "eben dieser, dieser beiden Leidenschaften, *Mitleid und Furcht*." Wir glauben

es ist eine Verständigung und Ausgleichung beider Meinungen möglich." pp. 168, 169.

To which the following note is appended: "Eine Stelle (*Rhet.* i. 11) wo es heisst: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μανθάνειν τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνάγκη ἡδέα εἶναι, &c., liesse sich bei der philologischen Erklärung wohl benutzen und für diese erste Ansicht geltend machen, desgl. ii. 1. 8. ὀργή, ἔλεος, φόβος, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. Und, λέγω δὲ πάθῃ μὲν, ὀργὴν, ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ii. 12. 2. ἔλεον, ἢ φόβον, ἢ ὀργὴν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, *Poet.* xix. 4.

23, and from the *Poetic*, xix. 4¹². But the case is very different in the definition we are examining. For there certain passions are viewed in their relation to a *particular* art, and as proper to be excited by it; and if Aristotle had meant to include *all* passions, he would hardly have used the word *τοιούτων*, which in that case were worse than useless, and could only have the effect of misleading the reader. And that the commentators on the passage are almost universally against M. Von Raumer's interpretation, may be seen by referring to the two and twenty versions of it which he has given in his essay; all which, except four, render "*such*" or "*similar*" passions: and of those four, one only—that of Alonso Ordoñez—includes all the passions, indiscriminately.

It would seem, then, that M. Von Raumer undertakes to reconcile two meanings, neither of which was contemplated by Aristotle. But even of the two which he takes in hand, it will, probably, be admitted, that the Stagirite could only have held *one*; unless we be disposed to assert that the views of the great philosopher were contradictory or inconsistent, and that he made no distinction between *two* passions and *all*. At best, then, the Professor is reconciling not Aristotle with himself, but his commentators with one another.

M. Von Raumer, however, proceeds to develop his theory as follows:

Other passions besides fear and pity are represented on the stage, and indeed, more frequently: as love, jealousy, ambition, &c. Their representation must have an effect on the corresponding passions of the spectator, and result either in strengthening or weakening them. But, if the tragic picture of each passion works on each, why does not Aristotle say that tragedy accomplishes the purification of *all* passions? and why does he specify only fear and pity?

M. Von Raumer has certainly here proposed to himself two pithy questions; let us see how he answers them.

Every passion, he says, may be purged by certain means, but all these means are not within the province of tragedy, which has a peculiar means of its own. Hatred cannot be purged by hatred, nor jealousy by jealousy, &c.; yet all admit of purgation by some common tragic element, and that is fear and pity. These may operate upon all passions; since compassion comprehends all the part which we take in others, and fear all that relates to ourselves. All passions, then, may be purged in passing through these two conductors, and none without; and it is therefore an indispensable condition that the tragic interest be powerful enough to excite them.

¹² It should be observed that in this passage of the *Poetics* the author is only remarking upon the way in which the *speeches of tragedy* should be prepared

in order to their effect upon those to whom they are addressed; viz. the other *dramatis personæ*, and not the audience.

Here, it may be asked, Are fear and pity the *means* only, and not also the *objects* of purgation? M. Von Raumer does not assert so much, and, indeed, it is clear from the terms of his thesis, which is given in the note above, that he includes them in the operation: nor would the words of the definition admit of any other meaning. But then we have this awkward consequence, that the more fear and pity are purged and moderated, the less efficient must they be as means to operate on other passions; and tragedy, as a moral lesson, must soon become altogether useless. Independently, however, of this, M. Von Raumer seems hardly to have taken a correct view of the way in which the spectator is wrought upon by the mimic passions of the stage. When we behold the love of Romeo, the ambition of Macbeth, or the jealousy of Othello, we do not partake in that love, that ambition, or that jealousy, and may not even have ever been in a situation to feel them; what we experience is, fear and pity at seeing the victims of those passions hurried on to destruction by their power. But, what is more to the purpose, Aristotle does not require the presence of such passions in the tragic hero; nay, they are even better away. Thus the *beau idéal* of a tragic character with him is such a man as Oedipus, who falls into misfortune, not through crime or passion, but through some great oversight or error (*δι' ἀμαρτίαν τυρά, § κέ*). And what other reason can be assigned for this, than that the fear and pity of the spectator may not be diminished by the distraction of other passions? But it is sufficiently evident that the more a character is calculated to excite, in this way, those two emotions which Aristotle considers the more peculiar objects of tragedy, the less fitted does it become to convey any moral lesson.

The conclusion, however, that, in the *Poetic*, tragedy is treated merely as a subject of art and not of morality, does not seem to justify M. Von Raumer's inference that, in that case, it must be positively immoral. That dramatic art and virtue are, as he eloquently contends¹³, perfectly compatible, few, perhaps—unless they be lineally descended from Prynne—will be inclined to deny. But is it not possible to treat of the drama merely as a subject of art, and without also viewing it as a question of morals? M. Von Raumer is frequent in his appeals to the sister-work of the *Poetic*—the *Rhetoric*; and even quotes it to shew the lofty idea which Aristotle entertained of happiness as being inseparably connected with virtue¹⁴. He is not there, however, giving any definition of happiness, but merely stating the various conceptions of it

¹³ Wie man aber dies und ähnliches stellen und deuten möge so viel steht fest. Aristoteles hielt eine Versöhnung der Kunst und Sittlichkeit für möglich, wirklich, nothwendig. Die Ideen des Guten und Schönen behalten ihm ihr eigenes, eigenthümliches Wesen, keine

soll die andere vernichten, oder auch nur unbedingt beherrschen; wol aber findet zwischen ihnen stete Wechselwirkung und harmonische Zusammenwirkung statt," &c. P. 187.

¹⁴ ἔστι δὲ εὐδαιμονία εὐπραγία μετὰ ἀρετῆς, &c. *Rhet.* i. 5.

formed by mankind, in order that the rhetorician may know how to address himself to their different sentiments; and, accordingly, in the three other views of it mentioned, virtue is not noticed as an ingredient. It may be remarked, too, that M. Von Raumer has here changed the terms upon us, by substituting the more general one of *happiness* (εὐδαιμονία, glückseligkeit) for *pleasure* (ἡδονή, vergnügen)¹⁵; the purpose of which is not very obvious, unless it be that, as Aristotle speaks of the ἡδονή, or pleasure, resulting from tragedy, it is intended we should infer that the term is equivalent to εὐδαιμονία, or happiness; and that hence a *moral end* may be established by the substitution of an *abiding* feeling for a *transient* one. Such a course, however, is incompatible with any right method of reasoning; and the more inadmissible inasmuch as, a few chapters further on (cap. xi.) Aristotle supplies us with the true definition of ἡδονή—viz. a κίνησις ψυχῆς, or temporary emotion.

It may be remarked, by the way, that M. Von Raumer seems unacquainted with Twining's translation of the *Poetic*; as, amongst the versions which he gives of the celebrated definition the English one is taken from the inferior performance of Pye.

T. DYER.

[With respect to the text of the definition of tragedy in the *Poetic* (above, p. 190) Bekker, c. vi. reads ἐκάστου, but omits ἀλλὰ without noticing any various reading. It may therefore be presumed that the word is not recognised by either of the three MSS. of the *Poetic* which he collated. 'Εκάστου has probably been altered from ἐκάστῳ by a transcriber, who attending merely to the collocation of the words, and not to their meaning, thought it was governed by χωρίς. In expanding this part of the definition lower down, Aristotle has the dative case: τὸ δὲ χωρὶς τοῖς εἶδεσι, &c. A similar instance of the corruption *per attractionem* occurs above, at the end of c. i. in the following words: Ταύτας μὲν οὖν λέγω τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν, ἐν οἷς ποιῶνται τὴν μίμῃσιν; the meaning of which is, "I understand the differences of the several arts to consist in the *means* by which the imitation is effected." All the MSS. have, however, αἷς for οἷς.—EDITOR.]

¹⁵ "Das Vergnügen oder noch allgemeiner die Glückseligkeit ist (so lautet die Anklage) dem Aristoteles höchster Zweck und höchstes Gut. Was versteht

er denn aber (diese Untersuchung erscheint unabweislich) unter Glückseligkeit?" &c. P. 186, 7.

XVI.

NAPOLEON ON THE CAPTURE OF TROY.

IN an article on 'Grecian Legends and Early History,' (of which a brief abstract was given in our first Number, p. 125), Mr. Grote adduces some examples of the rationalizing process by which the Greeks, particularly those of the later ages, converted mythology into history. The process was a simple one; it consisted in eliminating the marvellous and supernatural parts of the old poetical legend, and in supplying such other facts and motives as might render the narrative more consistent with the later and more philosophical, but more prosaic, standards of credibility¹.

The first example to which he adverts is taken from Thucydides. This extraordinary man, who (as Mr. Grote remarks) has never been surpassed in his capacity for judging or describing recent events, was less happy in his mode of treating the mythical history of his country. Even at the dawn of historical criticism, it was natural that his sceptical and positive mind should refuse to admit the *Iliad* as a true narrative of events; but it was equally natural that he should so far share the universal belief of his countrymen as to assume that the poetry of Homer contained at least a nucleus of fact. Accordingly, he gives a sketch of the Trojan expedition, from which everything marvellous is excluded, and in which the events are treated according to the same canons of probability which he applies to the Peloponnesian war.

One of the first points which naturally attracts his attention—a question which he is about to consider fully in reference to his own subject,—is the *cause* of the Trojan war. It immediately occurs to him as highly improbable that so large a body of men should have made so distant an expedition, and have endured and inflicted so great evils, in order merely to recover Helen from Paris; he cannot believe that the oaths of her suitors given

¹ See some remarks on this mode of inventing history, in Müller's *Dorians*, B. I. ch. vii. § 5.

to her father Tyndareus should have produced so mighty an effect as the collection of that vast armament, and the formation of the ten years' siege in Asia Minor. He therefore rejects the only cause of the war which is known to Homer and the early epic poets²; and maintains that the war in truth had its origin in the great power of Agamemnon. The Greeks did not fight ten years against Troy in order to avenge the wrong offered by Paris to Menelaus, and to recover his wife and property³, which the Trojan ravisher had carried away; but they were actuated by more politic motives. Agamemnon was a powerful king, with

² οὐτι μοι αἰτίη ἐστί, θεοὶ γὰρ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν,

οἳ μοι ἐφάρμυσαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν,

are the words in which the kind and courteous Priam, when addressing Helen, alludes to her being considered the cause of the war. *Iliad*, III. 164-5. See also v. 128. and *Odyssey*, IV. 145-6. Compare the serious declaration of Agamemnon, in *Æschylus*, upon his returning to Mycenæ:—

τούτων θεοῖσι χρὴ πολύμηστον χάριν
τίμειν, ἔπειτα καὶ πάγας ὑπερκότους
ἐπραξάμεσθα, καὶ γυναῖκος οὐνεκα
πόλιν διημάθουν Ἀργεῖον δόκος.

Agam. 821-4.

Helen was described by the author of the Cypria, as the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis: see the long fragment in *Ath.* VIII. p. 334, C., and compare *Preller, Demeter und Persephone*, p. 154. This genealogy alluded to the evils which she was to bring upon her country; to her being, as Virgil calls her, Trojæ ac patriæ communis Erinnyes. Homer must suppose the Greeks to have nourished their vengeance against Troy for a very long time; inasmuch as he makes Helen, in the 10th year of the war, say that it is twenty years since she left Menelaus (*Il.* XXIV. 765), and therefore conceives the siege to have begun in the 10th year after Helen went to Troy.

³ Ἐλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντα. See the treaty in *Iliad*, III. 276-91, and the declaration of Agamemnon, after Paris has been vanquished in single combat by Menelaus, *ib.* 456-60. The theft of the goods of Menelaus was an essential part

of the injury done him by Paris; according to the Cypria, Aphrodite contrives a meeting between Paris and Helen; after which, τὰ πλείστα κτήματα ἐνθέμενοι, νικτὸς ἀποπλέουσι, *Procl. Chrest.* p. 473, Gaisford. See likewise the account of the ἀρπαγή of Helen, in Herod. II. 114, 115, 118, where Thonis, the guardian of the Canobic mouth of the Nile, informs the king of the treachery of Paris, in the following words:—ἐξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει, καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα. According to Dictys, I. 3, Paris carried off Helen et multas opes; also Æthra et Clymena Menelai affines, quæ ob necessitudinem ejus cum Helena agebant. Menelaus, however, according to this writer, was more affected by the loss of his kinswomen than of his wife; 'Queis cognitis Menelaus, etsi abstractio conjugis animum permoverat, multo amplius tamen ob injuriam affinium..... consternabatur,' (*ib.* 4). Dictys adds, that before the Greeks declared war against Troy, they sent Palamedes, Ulysses, and Menelaus thither, to demand the restoration of Helen, et quæ cum ea abrepta erant, (*ib.*) Priam, influenced by Hecuba, refuses to give her up; and the sons of Priam are peculiarly adverse to this step: 'Videbant quippe quantæ opes cum ea advectæ essent; quæ universa, si Helena traderetur, necessario amitterent. Præterea permoti forma mulierum, quæ cum Helena venerant, nuptias sibi singularum jam animo destinaverant,' (*ib.* 7). In this way Dictys seeks to find a plausible reason for the unwillingness of the Trojans to deliver up Helen.

great military and naval resources; he planned a conquering expedition against Priam of Troy, a rival prince, with a tempting kingdom; and by the predominance of his power he compelled the weaker chieftains of Greece to join his army⁴. For this very plausible theory there is not (as Mr. Grote observes) the slightest extrinsic evidence; but we will venture to add, that it is likewise deficient in internal probability. For if Agamemnon went to Troy with the same motives which carried Napoleon to Moscow, why did he not retain possession of the country? The expedition, according to this view, was an expedition of ambition and conquest, not of revenge; why, when Agamemnon had taken the town, did he not subject it and the rest of King Priam's dominions to his own sceptre, leave a governor with a detachment of troops in occupation of the territory, and annex it to the Mycenæan kingdom? It will hardly be said that the Trojans, like the Russians, burnt their own city, in order to prevent the Greeks from occupying the place. Such an hypothesis is contrary to the notion of all the poets, who suppose that Troy was burnt by the Greeks⁵, and, we will venture to say, would never have occurred to Thucydides or any other ancient historian; for the destruction of the city would not have prevented Agamemnon from holding the country in subjection, supposing the art of navigation in the heroic age had permitted a ruler of Peloponnesus to think of governing a province in Asia Minor. The poetical legend,

⁴ οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλέον ἢ φόβῳ. Thuc. i. 9. Menelaus, in the *Helena* of Euripides, gives the genuine poetical view:—

πλείστον γὰρ οἶμαι, καὶ τόδ' οὐ κόμπῳ
λέγω,

στράτευμα κώπῃ διορίσαι Τροίαν ἐπὶ
τύραννοι, οὐδὲν πρὸς βίαν στρατηγῶν,
ἐκούσι δ' ἄρξας Ἑλλάδος ναυλαίαι.

(v. 393-6.)

Dictys, improving upon the hint of Thucydides, represents the wealthy Agamemnon as bribing the Greek princes. 'Dein Agamemnon, grande auri pondus Mycenis adportatum per ceteros dispariens, promptiores animos omnium ad bellum, quod parabatur, facit.' i. 15.

⁵ Homer says of the wooden horse—

ὦν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλου ἦγαγε διος
Ὀδυσσεύς,

ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας, οἳ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν.

Od. viii. 494-5. See also xi. 553.

Proclus concludes his account of the contents of the *Ἰλίου πέρις* of Arctinus thus. Speaking of the Greeks, he says:—*Ἐπειτα ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν, Πολυξένην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον.* Gaisford's *Hephæst.* p. 484.

Virgil, faithfully reproducing the spirit of the Greek poets, represents Æneas as speaking thus to Panthus:—

Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniæ. Fuimus Troes; fuit Ilium, et
ingens
Gloria Teucrorum. Ferus exania Jupiter
Argos
Transtulit. Incensa Danaï domitantur in
urbe.

Ardus armatos mediis in moenibus adstant
Fundit equus, victorque sinon incendia

misceat

Incendit.

Æn. ii. 324-30.

See also *Æsch. Ag.* 816. Eurip. *Troed.* 5, 1290, 1279.

on the other hand, is consistent with itself, if not with the laws of historical probability. The Greeks formed an expedition against Troy, in order to avenge the wrong which Menelaus had received from the Trojan Paris. After a ten years' siege, which the gods chequered with alternate successes and reverses, Troy was taken by the stratagem of the wooden horse; Helen was recovered by Menelaus, Paris having been previously killed; the city was plundered and burned by the conquerors; Priam was slain, and his daughters led away into captivity⁶. Such was the vengeance which the Greeks exacted for the wrong done by Paris.

Herodotus has another way of explaining the difficulty about Helen. He does not venture to doubt that the rape of Helen was the cause of the Trojan war: indeed, he considers it as one of a series of mutual wrongs by which the two continents were brought into collision with each other:

Quibus actus uterque

Europæ atque Asiæ fatis concurrerit orbis.

"The Phœnicians" (he says) "are represented by the Persian historians as having been the authors of the difference: they first wronged the Greeks by carrying away Io, the daughter of Inachus, from Argos. The next injury came from the other side. Some Greeks carried away Europa, the king's daughter, from Tyre. At this time the Greeks and Asiatics were even⁷. But the Greeks could not refrain from injustice, and they were the authors of the next outrage; they sailed in a ship of war to Ææa in the Colchian land, and the river Phasis, and carried away Medea, the king's daughter. The king sent an ambassador to Greece to demand reparation, and the restoration of his daughter; but the Greeks refused all redress, referring to the case of Io. In the second generation after these events, Paris, the son of Priam, having heard of them, wished to obtain a wife from Greece by forcible abduction; knowing that as *they* had refused redress, so *he* would not be required to make reparation. Ac-

⁶ See Eurip. *Troad.* 864-8. Deiphobus, another son of Priam, was represented to have married Helen after the death of Paris; and accordingly Menelaus and Ulysses are described in the *Odyssey* (viii. 517-8) as going straight from the wooden horse to the house of Deiphobus. See Nitzsch *Od.* Vol. I. p. 258-60; Vol. II. p. 228. Deiphobus was cruelly

mutilated on this occasion, through vengeance, as being Helen's husband. See Dictys, v. 12, and compare *Æn.* vi. 494-530. Concerning the proposal to kill Helen likewise, see Heyne, *Æc.* xii. ad *Æn.* ii. Dictys, v. 14.

⁷ Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἰῶα σφι πρὸς Ἰῶα γυνέσθαι. I. 2.

cordingly, when he had carried away Helen, the Greeks sent ambassadors to demand the restoration of her, and reparation for the wrong. But the Trojans refused to comply with these demands, appealing to the abduction of Medea, and saying that the Greeks required of others what they refused to do themselves. Thus far, say the Persians, there had been merely abductions of women on both sides; but from this point the Greeks were guilty of a great wrong; for they made an expedition against Asia, before the Asiatics made an expedition against Europe. To carry away women by force, was an act of injustice; but to avenge them when carried off, was an act of folly; the only wise course was to take no heed of them; for it was clear that they could not have been carried off without their consent. Now the Asiatics did not attempt to avenge the abduction of the women; whereas the Greeks collected a great armament on account of a Lacedæmonian woman, invaded Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Hence the Persians consider the capture of Troy to have been the cause of their enmity against the Greeks*."

Herodotus does not vouch the truth of this relation of the Persians², though he thinks it worthy of being preserved. At all events, its existence proves the universality of the belief in the connexion of the Trojan war with the rape of Helen. In a subsequent part of his history, however, he cordially adopts a story concerning the flight of Helen from Sparta, told him by some other foreigners, which appears to have had no stronger claims to credit than the narrative of the learned Persians.

The Egyptian priests, who furnished Herodotus with information, related to him an account of Paris, with Helen, having been driven by unfavourable winds to Egypt, during the reign of king Proteus. Proteus, they said, being informed of the wrong committed by Paris, detained Helen and the stolen goods in Egypt, in order that Menelaus might come to claim them, and expelled Paris and his companions from the country. Herodotus proceeds to say that he asked the priests if the story which the Greeks told about Troy was true, or not. They answered him that they knew how the events had really occurred, as their information had been derived from Menelaus himself. The truth was this: a great

¹ I. 1-5. For an illustration of a state of society in which such *aprayal* of women occur, see Boccaccio, *Dec.* G. 2. | Nov. 7, in the novel about the daughter of the Soldan of Babylonia.

² See c. 5.

armament of the Greeks went to Troy, and, after it had landed, ambassadors (of whom Menelaus was one) were sent to demand Helen and the stolen property, as well as reparation for the injury. The Trojans replied with solemn asseverations that Helen and the stolen goods were not in Troy, but in Egypt, and that the Greeks ought to demand redress, not of *them*, but of King Proteus. The Greeks, thinking that the Trojans were making sport of them, persisted in the siege until they took the town; when it appeared that Helen was not there, and that the story of the Trojans was true. Upon this, Menelaus sailed to Memphis, and recovered Helen and all his property, safe and inviolate, from the Egyptian king. To this narrative Herodotus gives credit, for the following reasons. If, he says, Helen had been in Troy, it is inconceivable that Priam and his kinsmen would have been so insane as to risk their lives and the safety of the city in order that Helen might be the wife of Paris¹⁰. Supposing that they had so resolved at first, the subsequent deaths of the Trojans, and particularly of Priam's sons, would have caused them to change their resolution. Even if Helen had been Priam's own wife, he would have delivered her up to the Greeks, in order to avert the actual calamities. Hector, not Paris, was Priam's eldest son; and it was his duty, during his father's old age, to see that the country did not suffer through the wrongs done by his younger brother. "The truth is (Herodotus continues) that the Trojans had not Helen to give up, and the Greeks disbelieved them without cause; the Deity having, as it seems to me, provided that the Trojans should perish utterly, as a warning to mankind that the gods inflict great punishments for great offences." (II. 112—20.)

This story admits that the rape of Helen was the cause of the Trojan war; indeed, the moral which Herodotus extracts from the whole series of events, is, that the ruin of Troy was the divine punishment for the crime of Paris¹¹. The story of the Egyptian

¹⁰ The dislike of the Trojans for Paris, and their desire that he should be killed, are mentioned in *Iliad*, III. 56. 451—4; but the only allusion to the possibility of giving up Helen is contained in the reflection of the old men, ib. 159—60, which leads to nothing. The poet doubtless saw that if this idea was followed up, the entire ground-work of his story would be destroyed. The feeling of aversion

with which she was regarded by the Trojans, is mentioned in her lament over the body of Hector, xxiv. 775.

¹¹ The idea that a whole nation was punished by the gods for the sin of a single man, was quite in accordance with the rude ethical opinions of the ancients. Thus Juno says, near the beginning of the *Æneid* :

priests, which Herodotus adopts as a means of explaining the non-delivery of Helen to the Greeks, is, however, just as inconsistent with the epic accounts as the theory of Thucydides respecting the cause of the war. The original idea seems to have been, that Helen left Sparta voluntarily with Paris¹²; but that after his death, at least, she returned to her allegiance to her former husband, and native country; that she showed these feelings at the secret visit of Ulysses to the city, and was informed by him of the intended stratagem of the wooden horse¹³. Her visit to the heroes in the wooden horse, described by Homer, indicates her knowledge of the stratagem; but is accompanied with a singular act of impatience, by which she nearly exposed her friends to great danger¹⁴. Virgil makes her openly assist her countrymen on this occasion. He describes her as leading a band of Phrygian women, in order to conceal her treason, and brandishing a torch as a signal to the Greeks to descend from the horse¹⁵.

But, besides its inconsistency with the epic accounts, the explanation of Herodotus does not remove the difficulty as to the cause assigned by the poets for the Trojan war. If the art of navigation was, at the time of the supposed Trojan war, sufficiently advanced for a numerous Greek fleet to transport a large army from Peloponnesus to the coast of Troy¹⁶, it would surely have been

Pallasne exurere classem

Argivum, atque ipso potuit submergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam et furias Ajacis Oilei?

Compare Eurip. *Troad.* 69-94. 139-41.

¹² See *Iliad*, III. 173-5. The verses 443-5 would, without the previous passage, seem to indicate that she had been carried away by force. Compare XXIV. 764. In the *Cypria* she was described as going voluntarily with Paris. *Procl.* p. 473, Gaisford.

¹³ *Od.* IV. 244-64; particularly the final verses. Nitzsch *Ann. sur Od.* Vol. I. p. 257-9. Welcker, *Griech. Tragödien*, Vol. I. p. 146.

¹⁴ *Od.* IV. 271-84. See Nitzsch's correct explanation, *ib.* p. 259.

¹⁵ *Æn.* VI. 511-9. The part which Helen bears in this scene does not correspond with her appearance in the fine passage of the second book, v. 567-88, which Tucca and Varius are said to have struck out, because it was unworthy of the heroic style for a man to kill a

woman. In the former, she triumphantly assists the Greeks to destroy the city; in the latter, she hides herself from the vengeance of the Trojans. See II. 571-4. The verses in Dryden's Ode,

Thais led the way

To light him to his prey,

And, like another Helen, fired another Troy,

probably allude to the incident in the 6th *Æneid*, but Virgil does not represent Helen as actually firing the city. Her torch appears to be merely a signal.

¹⁶ Thucydides, I. 10, reckons from Homer the number of ships at 1200, (the precise number is 1186: see Dederich ad Dict. I. 17.) The grammarians estimated the strength of the Grecian army at 100,810, or 120,000, or 140,000 men. See Heyne on *Iliad*, II. 122, 493. (Vol. IV. p. 216, 287.) Later poets spoke in round numbers of a *thousand* ships at Troy: *ὁ χιλιάνας ἑλλάδος ἰκὼς Ἀργεῖ*, Eur. *Andromach.* 106. Comp. Heyne on *Æn.* II. 198.

possible to send a ship to Egypt, in order to obtain information upon a subject so interesting to an entire kingdom and a large invading army. It is inconceivable, taking the facts assumed by Herodotus, that such a contest should have been continued for ten years through a mere mistake. If Priam would have been insane for fighting so long on account of Helen, he appears scarcely wiser in allowing the war to last for ten years, when he might without serious difficulty have proved to the Greeks that the supposed cause of offence had no existence in reality.

The belief in the connexion of Menelaus with Egypt doubtless originated in the narrative of the *Odyssey*¹⁷; but the notion of Helen not having gone to Troy, is, in all probability, to be referred to the celebrated *Palinodia* of Stesichorus; whence it passed, directly or indirectly, to the Egyptian priests seen by Herodotus¹⁸. The story of Stesichorus (partially followed by Euripides in his tragedy), is as decidedly mythical as the old epic account, and involves the purely supernatural incident of the *εἰδωλον* of Helen. The object of this version of the fable is, not to diminish its improbability, or to invest it with a seemingly historical character, but to save the honour of Helen and Greece, which was tainted by her flight with the Phrygian adulterer¹⁹. Euripides indeed supposes her to have been placed by Hermes in Egypt²⁰, in the custody of

¹⁷ *iv.* 351-586.

¹⁸ The Proteus of the *Odyssey*, a sea-god, and a thoroughly marvellous being, (whose daughter, Eidothea, is moreover a goddess,) appears in the story of the Egyptian priests as king of Egypt. The name of Proteus, and his connexion with Menelaus, must have been borrowed by the Egyptian priests from the Homeric account. In the tragedy of Euripides, Eidothea (under the name of Theonoë) is the daughter of King Proteus, but so far retains her divine character that she is skilled in divination. See Hermann on *v.* 11. Concerning Proteus, see Nitzsch, *Anm. sur Od.* Vol. 1. p. 270.

¹⁹ Concerning the purpose of Stesichorus, see Müller, *Hist. of Greek Lit.* ch. xiv. § 5. Schneidewin *Poes. Gr.* p. 330-2. For the *Helena* of Euripides, see *v.* 720-1, 881-3.

²⁰ Eur. *Hel.* 44-8. The legendary

character of the accounts of the Trojan war is well exhibited in the treatment which the person of Helen receives from the hands of Euripides. In the *Helena*, she is an affectionate and virtuous wife, who is deposited safely, by the care of the gods, in Egypt, until Menelaus recognizes her, and by a stratagem (in which he risks his life) conveys her out of the country. In the *Troades*, he follows the epic view of Helen, and he moreover represents Menelaus as resolved to kill her, after he had recovered her at Troy, *v.* 860-1059. Hermann, *Præf. ad Helen.* p. viii. citing the remark of Valckenæer on Herod. *ii.* 116, that Herodotus had probably read the *Helena* of Euripides, remarks that more probably Euripides had read Herodotus. Perhaps a more probable supposition still, is, that each followed Stesichorus independently of the other. On the

Proteus; but Stesichorus represented her as having never left Sparta in her own proper person²¹.

The preceding examples illustrate the essential distinction between the poetical legends of Greece and genuine matter of fact, and exhibit the failure of the attempts which were made, even by the ablest and best-informed of the Greeks themselves, to extract truth out of their mythology. They likewise show the absurdity of criticising the mythical narratives according to the ordinary rules of probability, and of expecting to find in them such a coherent series of events as would occur in an authentic history of real political and military events.

The tendency of mind, and spirit of criticism, which have been thus briefly characterised, appear, in a remarkable manner, in some observations on the second book of the *Æneid*, which Napoleon dictated at St. Helena, and which have been published by his valet-de-chambre, M. Marchand, in a volume containing a detailed and highly-interesting military commentary on the wars of Cæsar, equally by Napoleon²².

The purpose of these observations is indeed different from the aim of the rationalising criticisms which have been cited from Thucydides and Herodotus, inasmuch as they do not profess to transmute fable into history; but they analyse Virgil's account of the taking of Troy, as if it was an historical event, and make no allowance for the poetical and imaginative character of the materials out of which it is formed.

The imperial critic begins by observing that the second book of the *Æneid* is considered as the finest part of that poem; but that although it deserves this reputation on account of its *style*, its *matter* is entitled to far less praise.

"The wooden horse may have been a popular tradition; but the tradition is a ridiculous one, and quite unworthy of an epic

²¹ Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή of Sophocles, i. e. her removal from Troy by Menelaus, see Welcker *Griech. Trag.* Vol. i. p. 158-61.

²² Proteus, in the *Odyssey*, informs Menelaus that he is not to die, but to be carried by the gods to the happy Elysian plain at the extremity of the earth, because he is the husband of Helen, and son-in-law of Zeus; *iv.* 569. There was a temple of Helen at Sparta; Herod. *vi.* 61. According to a legend of the

Crotoniats and Himeræans, Helen lived after death in the island of Leuce in the Black Sea—a sort of μακάρων νῆσος—as the wife of Achilles; *Paus.* *iii.* 19, § 11-13.

²³ Précis des Guerres de César, par Napoléon, écrit par M. Marchand, à l'île Sainte Helène, sous la dictée de l'empereur, suivi de plusieurs fragmens inédits. Paris, 1836. 1 vol. 8vo.

poem. There is nothing similar in the *Iliad*, where everything is conformable to reality and the practices of war. How can one suppose the Trojans to have been so silly as not to send a fishing-boat to the island of Tenedos, in order to ascertain if the thousand vessels of the Greeks had staid there, or were really gone? But in fact the roadstead of Tenedos could be seen from the top of the towers of Ilion. How can one believe that Ulysses and the picked men of the Greeks would have been so senseless as to shut themselves up in a wooden horse; that is to say, to deliver themselves, bound hand and foot, to their implacable enemies? Supposing that this horse contained only 100 warriors, its weight must have been enormous; and it is not probable that it could have been brought from the sea-shore to the walls of Troy in one day, especially as it had two rivers to cross."

"The entire episode of Sinon is improbable and absurd; the resources of the poet, and the eloquence of the speech which he puts in Sinon's mouth, do not at all diminish its absurdity. But it is necessary that the horse should be introduced into the city, on the very day that the Greeks go away; without which, it would be still more incredible that the 1000 ships of the Greeks could remain concealed so near to Troy."

"The beautiful and pleasing episode of Laocoon requires no recommendation, but cannot at all diminish the absurdity of the conduct of the Trojans; since it would have been easy to leave the wooden horse for a few days in its place in the camp, and to ascertain that the enemy's fleet had sailed, before throwing down the walls in order to admit the horse into the town."

As we write for philological, not military readers, it is scarcely necessary for us to say that, however much we may be impressed with Virgil's general inferiority to Homer, we cannot concur in the compliment which is here paid to the Greek poet at his expence. It is true that the wooden horse is not mentioned in the *Iliad*, because the plan of the poem did not admit of its mention²⁰. But it is described in the *Odyssey* with a transparent simplicity, through which the improbability of the contrivance shews itself far more plainly, than it can be perceived under the covering of the diversified and artful narrative in the second *Æneid*. Heyne in his *Excursus* on the Trojan horse (*Exc.* 3 *ad* *Æn.* II.), lays

²⁰ It seems to be alluded to in *Iliad*, x. v. 71; but the three verses, 69-71, are probably interpolated. See Heyne *ad loc.* Vol. VII. p. 20-1.

much stress on the ingenuity with which Virgil has treated this ancient and improbable story. "Gravior observatio (he says) forte est illa, qua arte poeta fabulam per se puerilem et nullam *πιδανήντα* habentem ita tractaverit, ut nihil nos in ea offendat, multa delectent." The speciousness of the story, as related by Virgil, is owing, according to Heyne, partly to its antiquity, which induces us to acquiesce in some improbability; and partly to the skill and judgment with which everything that could lower the dignity of the narrative is kept out of sight, and with which circumstances tending to conceal the improbability of the incident are introduced. Thus, because it would be an act of the utmost folly to introduce the horse into the walls, after the suspicion of its containing armed men had once arisen, the poet employs the powerful incentives of religion to impel them forward; viz. the stratagem of Sinon, and the prodigy of Laocoon. The remark of Napoleon upon the ignorance of war shewn by Virgil as compared with Homer, applies with much truth to the battles in the latter books of the *Æneid*; but although all the details of the combats in the *Iliad* are admirable, and seem to shew that the poet had had personal experience in the matter²⁴, yet the narrative generally, even in the accounts of the battles, is quite as marvellous and remote from fact as that of the *Æneid*.

There is no doubt that the conduct of the fated Trojans, as described in the poetical legend followed by Virgil, is altogether indefensible upon strategical principles, or even upon the mere principles of common sense. They would have acted more prudently and wisely, if they had adopted the precautions indicated by Napoleon, and would probably have prevented their city from being taken. But their folly in this respect is (as has been truly remarked) of the very essence of the old legend. The Trojans are predestined by the gods to destruction; their mental blindness is at once the sign and the cause of their impending fate; they are, through the divine irony, the willing and infatuated instruments of their own ruin: their ears are shut against the seasonable admonitions of Laocoon and Cassandra.

²⁴ 'Iliacus poeta ipse bella gessisse et arma tractasse videtur; atque ideo omnia, quæ ex eorum usu fierent, summa scientia et simplici et severa veritate, ut experientia edoctus, et expertorum judicium subiturus, copiose et facunde in carmi-

nibus exhibet, neque dum singulorum hominum vires ultra modum, pro captu tamen audientium, auget et extollit, mortem ullius vulneri non fatali aut alii, non idoneæ causæ usquam tribuit.' Payne Knight, *Prolegomena in Hom.* § 48.

Scandit *fatalis machina* muros,
 Feta armis. Pueri circum innuptæque puellæ
 Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent...
 Instamus tamen *immemores, cæcique furore*,
 Et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
 Tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
 Ora, dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris.

Æn. II. 237—47.

With respect to Napoleon's remarks on the episodes of Sinon and Laocoon, we cannot admit that their poetical beauty does not more than compensate for their improbability. If the events in Homer and Virgil were reduced to the ordinary standard, would they not lose in poetical interest far more than they would gain in probability? The narrative, in proportion as it approximated to a despatch, would recede from poetry. Napoleon might have remembered that even writers of bulletins have found that fiction is sometimes better fitted than truth to produce emotion.

It is to be regretted that, amongst Napoleon's suite at St. Helena, there was no philologist who could point out to him the ingenious attempts which were made by the ancients to explain away the Trojan horse, and to substitute for the poetical narrative preferred by Virgil one more consonant with probability. With what satisfaction would he have learnt the suggestion of Hyginus and Tubero, that it was a machine for battering walls, called *equus*, as other similar machines were called *aries* and *testudo*? or the supposition of others, that a horse was painted over the gate which Antenor, by treachery, opened to the Greeks? Again, he might have been informed that some supposed the word *horse* to have been the watchword by which the Greeks distinguished friends and enemies during the sack of the town; or that a horse was painted upon the doors of Antenor and the other Trojans who had betrayed their city to the Greeks, in order that their houses might be spared; while others thought the origin of the story to have been that Troy was taken by a battle of cavalry; or that the mountain behind which the Greeks concealed themselves was named *Hippius*²⁵.

²⁵ All these explanations may be seen in Servius on *Æn.* II. 15. He himself approves of the supposition that the horse was a battering machine. Pausanias is of the same opinion; he thinks that unless

the Trojans are supposed to have been perfect fools, the horse of Epeius must have been a machine for destroying the walls. I. 23, § 8.

Perhaps, however, he would have derived the greatest satisfaction from the narrative of Dictys of Crete, which, even if it should not be thought highly probable, is nevertheless free from the startling and marvellous circumstances, which, in his judgment, deform the narrative of Virgil. According to this account, the Trojans, after the death of Memnon, are sorely pressed by the Greeks, a sedition arises against Priam, and the leaders of it decide that Helen and the property shall be restored to Menelaus²⁶. Upon this it is agreed that Antenor shall be sent to negotiate with the Greeks. Antenor goes, but is false to his trust, and arranges to betray the city to them²⁷. A treaty is however apparently made that the Greeks shall raise the siege upon the payment of 2000 talents of gold and silver²⁸ by the Trojans. In the mean time, the Greeks construct a large wooden horse, being told by Helenus that this will be a fatal gift to the Trojans, and wheel it up to the walls, informing them that they are to receive it with respect, as being dedicated to Minerva. Upon this a large multitude of persons come out of the city, and with much joy begin to drag it home; but finding it too large to enter by the gate, they destroy a portion of the walls in order to admit it. But when the wall is nearly demolished, the Greeks interpose, and require the payment of the 2000 talents to be made, before the horse is admitted. The money is then paid, and the horse is dragged in, amidst the rejoicings of the Trojans. Hereupon the Greeks burn their tents and leave Troy; but only sail to Sigeum, where they wait until nightfall to return. Having re-landed their army, they enter the town through the breach made in the walls for the admission of the horse²⁹. We have given this narrative at the greater length, in order to enable the reader to judge whether or no Virgil would have improved the second *Æneid* by treating his subject in this manner. It is true there is nothing in it about the deceit of Sinon, or the slaughter of Laocoon by the sea-serpents, or the concealment of the heroes in the

²⁶ IV. 22.

²⁷ V. 4.

²⁸ Dictys, in his zeal for the probable, seems to have forgotten that no such stipulation as this could ever have been agreed upon by sane persons; to say nothing of the consummate diplomatists whom he puts in motion in his narrative.

It is as if a person were to promise to pay a thousand *pounds and shillings*. If any such agreement were made, a question similar to that concerning the black and white horses, in the celebrated case of *Stradling v. Styles*, would require to be discussed.

²⁹ V. 9-12.

horse. But we could, if it was necessary, point out marks of prodigious folly in the conduct of the Trojans, as it is described in the creeping narrative of Dictys; and however much we esteem truth in historical works intended for instruction, and not for amusement, we certainly think that the tale of Troy divine would never have been heard of by posterity, and that Agamemnon would have shared the fate of the brave men who lived before him, if the war had been celebrated after the fashion of this compiler, who seems to reverse the science of the alchemists, and to be occupied only with transmuting precious into base metal.

The remaining remarks (which are highly characteristic of the penetrating and practical mind of their author) relate principally to the too rapid succession of the events, and the ignorance of war shewn by Virgil, in crowding his incidents into too short a period.

"The warriors enclosed in the wooden horse (the door of which was opened by Sinon) do not come out until the Grecian fleet, which leaves Tenedos when every body is asleep, and the night is dark, has landed the army³⁰: this, therefore, cannot be before one o'clock in the morning; moreover, before this hour the soldiers on guard would not have been asleep, so as to enable Sinon to open the door of the horse. The entire destruction of Troy, therefore, as described in this book, takes place between one o'clock in the morning and sunrise, that is to say, in three or four hours; which is absurd. Troy could not have been taken, burnt, and destroyed, in less than a fortnight. Troy contained an army; this army did not go away, it must therefore have defended itself in all the palaces. Æneas, residing in his father's palace, in a wood at a distance of half a league from Troy³¹, only learns the capture and conflagration of the town through Hector's ghost. Even if the house of Anchises had been at two leagues distance, the noise of the tumult caused by the taking of the town, and the heat of the burning of the first houses, would have awaked men and animals. Troy did not fall in a single night, especially so short a one; and even if the army which was there to defend it had evacuated it, the Greek army could not have taken possession of the town and destroyed it in less than several days. Æneas was not the only warrior in Troy, and yet the poet speaks of no other. The many heroes who play so brilliant a part in the

³⁰ See *Æn.* II. 254-60.

³¹ This appears to be founded upon *Æn.* II. 299-304. 684.

Iliad must each have been able to defend his own quarter of the town."

"A tower whose summit reached to the heavens, must doubtless have been built of stones; it does not appear how Æneas, in a few instants, and with the help of some iron levers, could have made it fall on the head of the Greeks³²."

"If Homer had described the taking of Troy, he would not have treated it as the taking of a fort, but would have employed the necessary time; that is, at least eight days and eight nights. In reading the Iliad one feels throughout that Homer had been engaged in war; and that he did not, as his commentators say, pass his life in the schools of Chios: in reading the Æneid, one feels that it is the work of a college-tutor who never knew active life. It is impossible to understand what could have induced Virgil to begin and finish the taking, burning, and pillage of Troy in a few hours: in this short time he even represents all the wealth of the town as having been collected into central magazines (*magasins centraux*)³³. The house of Anchises must have been very near the town; for within these few hours, and notwithstanding the fighting, Æneas goes there several times³⁴. Scipio took seventeen

³² See *Æn.* II. 458-67. The words 'qua summa labantes juncturas tabulata dabant' appear however to indicate that the part thrown down is not of stone, but of wood. Heyne's remark on this incident is, 'Egregia autem cum arte hæc inserta sunt a poeta ad rerum faciem variandam, quod etiam Wartono observatum.'

³³ The following is the passage referred to:—

Et jam porticibus vacuis, Junonis asylo,
Custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes
Prædam observabant. Hue undique Troia

gæssa

Incensæ creptæ adytis, mensæque decorum,
Crateresque auro solidi, captivæque vestis
Congeritur. Pueri et pavidæ longo ordine
matres

Stant circum. *Æn.* II. 761-6.

It is to be observed that the women and children were a part of the booty, and were, equally with the rest, to be divided by lot amongst the victors. See Eurip. *Troad.* 240-97, and compare Dictys, v. 13. Probably the collection of the women and children into the 'magasins centraux'

would have occupied quite as much time as that of the gold and silver.

³⁴ Napoleon here exaggerates a little the inconsistencies of the narrative; for it seems that Æneas is only represented to have returned *once* in the course of the night to the house of Anchises. Shortly after he hears that the town is taken, he sallies from his father's house with a band of Trojans, v. 359; after much fighting, and having witnessed Priam's death, he is warned by Venus to return home, v. 620. He accordingly returns, v. 634, with the intention of taking his father into the mountains. Anchises prefers to die in Troy, v. 664. Æneas then determines to sally forth a second time; but is restrained by a prodigy, which likewise induces Anchises to leave the town, v. 704. He sets out with his family and companions, but when he has reached the temple of Ceres, discovers that he has lost Creusa. He conceals them outside the walls, 748, and returns to the town to search for Creusa. After having seen her ghost, he rejoins his

days in burning Carthage, though it was abandoned by its inhabitants²⁵: eleven days were required for burning Moscow, although it was in great part built of wood²⁶; and for a town of this size several days are required to enable the conquering army to take possession of it. Now Troy was a large town; for the Greeks, who had a hundred thousand²⁷ men, never attempted to surround it. When Æneas returns during that very night into the town, he finds Ulysses guarding the accumulated treasures of Troy. For that single operation more than a fortnight was necessary: it is not in the midst of the disorder of a town taken by assault that people amuse themselves with heaping up treasures in central magazines.

"At the break of day, says the poet, Æneas rejoins his companions²⁸. Consequently, between one o'clock in the morning and

companions, v. 795. At all events, Virgil did not invent the legend that Troy was taken in one night, (see Heyne's *Excursus* 8 ad Æn. II. 'de nocte Trojanis funesta;') though he may have multiplied the incidents, and thus increased the improbability of the poetical fable. The ancient chronologists not only knew the year in which Troy was taken, but undertook to define the month, and even the day. About the latter there was some divergence of opinion; but it was generally agreed to have been during the full moon. Heyne, *Exc.* 2. ad Æn. III. Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. I. p. 127, note d.

²⁵ According to Appian, *Pun.* c. 128-33, the Roman army, under Scipio, were six days and nights fighting and burning their way through the town of Carthage up to the citadel, into which the population was driven. On the 7th day, Scipio received their submission, and permitted all the inhabitants to go out of the citadel, except the deserters. These defended themselves for some days in a temple, after the town had been destroyed. Scipio allowed his army to plunder it for some days (*ἐπὶ τινὰ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν*, c. 133), but not to take gold, silver, or sacred offerings. The precise number of days cannot be determined from this narrative.

²⁶ That Napoleon should have been misled by some inaccurate authority with respect to the burning of Carthage, is not to be wondered; but it is singular that he should be in error as to an event

so remarkable in his history as the burning of Moscow. The fire of Moscow began on the night of the 14th of September, and, with a slight pause at first, lasted till the 20th, but not longer. Ségur, in his *Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée pendant l'année 1812*, Tom. II. p. 76, says: "L'incendie commencé dans la nuit du 14 au 15 Septembre, suspendu par nos efforts dans la journée du 15, ranimé dès la nuit suivante, et dans sa plus grande violence les 16, 17 et 18, s'était ralenti [le 19. Il avait cessé le 20." See likewise the accounts from the original bulletins in the *Annual Register* for 1812, p. 174. The great fire of London began in the night of Sunday the 2nd of September, and lasted till Friday the 7th.

²⁷ Thucydides (who knew better than Napoleon how small was the size of the ancient cities in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor) perceives that Troy could not have held out for ten years against the vast army which the Homeric catalogue supposes. He accordingly (by a mere arbitrary conjecture) sends one portion of the army to cultivate the Chersonese, and another portion to plunder the neighbouring country, in order to supply the remainder with food. If (he says) they could have continued the siege with their entire forces, they would have soon taken the town, (I. II.)

²⁸ Sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso.
v. 795.

four o'clock, that is, in three hours, Æneas has been to Troy, has been engaged in all the combats which he describes, has defended Priam's palace, has returned to see Creusa in the town, and found it completely subdued, making no more resistance, occupied in all parts by the enemy, entirely burnt, and the magazines of plunder already closed. It is not in this manner that an epic poem ought to proceed, nor is it thus that the events advance in the *Iliad*. The journal of Agamemnon would not be more precise for distances and times, and for the verisimilitude of military operations, than is this epic masterpiece²⁰."

It is curious to see the *Æneid* thus criticised by a great practical master of the art of war, as if it was an authentic military history, and to find the experience of Moscow brought to bear on the burning of Troy. But if it is once admitted that poetry is intended to teach and not to delight, and is amenable to the rules of historical criticism, it will be impossible to deny the applicability of Napoleon's remarks; for that he has proved the second *Æneid* to be a military absurdity, cannot be disputed. The triumph which his military experience enables him to achieve over these graceful creations of ancient poetry and mythology, is indeed complete; but he would probably not have thought the victory worth gaining, if it had occurred to him to consider that the legends of the Trojan war are scarcely more fitted to endure the analysis of serious strategical criticism, than the exploits of Orlando or Amadis. A subject such as this was not congenial to his thoughts, even in the forced inaction of St. Helena. His practical mind was more suitably occupied in the contemplation and discussion of the realities of warfare; at the times when he passed in review the events of his former greatness;

E ripensò le mobili
Tende, e i percossi valli,
E il lampo dei manipoli,
E l'onda dei cavalli,
E il concitato imperio,
E il celere obbedir.

Before we close this article, we may mention that many similar defects and incoherencies in the plan of the *Æneid* are pointed out in an ingenious critique published not long ago in

²⁰ Heyne reckons 52 or 53 days for the action of the *Iliad*. See his *Exc. l ad Il. xviii.* Vol. vii, p. 571.

the *British and Foreign Review*⁴⁰, the purpose of which was to show that many of the Wolfian arguments against the unity of the authorship of the Homeric poems, derived from the inconsistencies of their different parts, would apply with equal force to the *Æneid*, and that it would follow, by parity of reasoning, that the latter poem had a plurality of authors.

G. C. L.

XVII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE XANTHIAN MARBLES.

THE acquisition of the Xanthian Marbles for the British Museum is a subject of rejoicing for all scholars and lovers of ancient art. It is only by the accumulation of monuments of this description in the museums of Europe that additional light can be thrown on the history of Greek art, and these Lycian remains could nowhere be studied more profitably than in close contact with the marbles of the Parthenon and of Phigalia.

Too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Fellows for his zeal and perseverance in finally securing these interesting objects; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the Museum may again acquire fresh treasures of equal value from the same spots and by the same agency.

We do not propose to discuss at length either the style of art or the subjects of the Xanthian Marbles, but in a periodical of this sort, a notice of some kind is due to the reader with regard to so important an addition to our means for investigating the history of art in a district of the ancient world hitherto unexplored.

The most interesting of these Lycian remains are,—

The frieze of the so-called Harpy tomb.

The frieze representing, as it is supposed, the taking of Xanthus by Harpagus.

A frieze the subject of which is a battle between combatants on horseback and foot.

Eight fragments of figures (now placed in the centre of the room).

Besides these, there are parts of other friezes, and of several pediments, as well as other fragments and detached objects.

To begin with the frieze of the monument which Mr. Fellows has termed the Harpy tomb, its mythological import has been

⁴⁰ 'On the self-contradictions of Homer,' No. XVIII. Art. 9.

discussed at considerable length, by M. Panofka, in a recent number of the *Archäologische Zeitung*, and by Mr. Birch of the British Museum, as well as by Mr. B. Gibson and M. Raoul Rochette, in the *Journal des Savans*. The subjects are very obscure, and scarcely appear as yet to have been satisfactorily explained, even if that should be possible. As a work of art, the style is very ancient, resembling that of the bas-relief in the Villa Albani, described by Winkelman (*Werke*, III. 194. Compare Zöega, *Bassi-relievi*, I. 40; Müller, *Handbuch der Kunst*. § 96. 13) as Leucothea, and not unlike the Samothracian fragment of Agamemnon and Talthybius in the Louvre (Müller, *Handbuch der Kunst*. § 96. 12; Millingen, *Uned. Mon.* series II. 1). A portion of one of the pediments too, in the centre of the Phigalian room, may seem to bear marks of an early period, but it is far less rude in execution, and less stiff in the movements of the figures, than the sculpture on the Harpy tomb. It seems rather to be executed by an artist capable of working with freedom, but who has purposely adhered to a *hieratic* character.

One singular thing about the costume of the figures on the frieze of the Harpy tomb is the long train attached to the dress of the sitting goddesses, whom M. Panofka takes to be Demeter and Cora. It is by no means clear, as has been remarked by a writer in the last number of the *For. and Col. Quarterly*, that the harpies are connected with the main subject of each panel.

Certain other portions of sculpture, which are now placed under this frieze, are also well worthy of observation in many respects. The mythology, the costume, the treatment, and the execution of the Harpy frieze are, to our eyes, thoroughly Greek, however ancient and rude they may appear. They are, at any rate, less clumsy than the Hercules Melampygos or the Perseus of the Selinuntine metopes. This is not, however, so clearly marked on some of the fragments now standing under it. The fragments alluded to were, it is believed, found built into the wall of the Acropolis; and they are remarkable for showing the forelocks of the horses, and one or two other points precisely similar in arrangement and in character to the Persepolitan sculptures (Fellows' *Second Tour*, p. 173). There is something not Greek in the treatment of the figures also, and the whole feeling of art is different from that of the other monuments. Among these slabs occur some with what the writer in the *For. and Col.*

Quarterly calls "the deer-slaying lion, so common in Asiatic works of art¹."

The frieze which represents the taking of the city is highly interesting, both as regards its subject, its conception, and its execution. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the subject is the very capture described by Herodotus (i. 176); for the circumstances are so special as hardly to be applicable to two events. The person before whom the vanquished are brought wears a Phrygian cap, and is seated under an umbrella; but his soldiers, both in this slab and in those representing the attack on the town, are habited as Greeks. This agrees exactly with the account of Herodotus (i. 171): Ἄρπυγος δὲ καταστρεφόμενος Ἴωνήν ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Καρας καὶ Κανίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολίους.

Moreover, as Colonel Leake has remarked, in his recent letter to Mr. Hamilton, some of the troops wear a peculiar long χιτὼν or shirt, being probably the characteristic garment alluded to by Homer, in the description of the same race as Ἴάονες ἐλκεχιτῶνες (II. XIII. 685), and very different from the short military garment called *κνῆστις*, which only reached half-way down the thigh, such as is seen in the Æginetan statues, in the detached recumbent figure of the Selinuntine marbles, or in the figure of the warrior (probably Sarpedon) receiving the helmet, on the north side of the Harpy frieze (compare Müller, *Handbuch der Kunst*. § 337. 4; *Pollux*, vii. 71; *Alcæus apud Athen.* xiv. p. 627; and Casaubon's note).

Nothing can be more curious than the details of the city-gate, and the general aspect of the fortifications, as shown on this frieze. They resemble generally the bas-relief representation of an ancient city, from a tomb at Pinara, engraved in Mr. Fellows' *Second Tour*. The battlements are shaped somewhat like inverted heater shields, and resemble in form frontons on ancient buildings, such, for instance, as the fragment No. 39, now lying on the floor of the same room, which covered the ends of the joint tiles over the cornice. The angle of the wall is generally protected by returning the half of such a battlement round the corner, thus forming very much the sort of termination which often finishes the angles of the

¹ It is a singular fact, that in one of the courts of the Alhambra of Granada, there is an old Moorish sarcophagus of marble, now serving for the cistern of a fountain, which is sculptured with this

subject, in low relief, very closely resembling the early Greek works. An Arabic inscription, and the general style, however, leave no doubt of its being Moorish work.

lid of a sarcophagus. It will be observed that the combatants, on both sides, are habited like Greeks; they have round or perhaps sometimes oval shields, and, for the most part, the ordinary Greek helmet. Some however have pointed helmets. This naturally leads us to the question, what was the population of Xanthus before its capture by Harpagus?

It is to be inferred perhaps from what Mr. Fellows says at pp. 250, 252, and 253, of his *Second Tour*, taken in conjunction with the supplementary chapter, that he is inclined to hold the city of Xanthus before the conquest by Harpagus (B.C. circa 546), to have been in the main *Lycian*, as distinguished from *Greek*. That some Greek elements existed, is clear from the adoption of the Greek alphabet, (an adoption later, as Colonel Leake observes, than that by the Etruscans), and from other circumstances; and it appears probable that for a very long period anterior to the conquest by Harpagus the main elements of civilization and the general character of the people were Greek.

This question is too important to be discussed incidentally, but it will be sufficient to remark, that this early connexion is sufficiently pointed out in the myths of Sarpedon, and of Lycus, son of the Attic king Pandion, as well as in the Homeric story of Bellerophon, (see Thirlwall, *Hist.* II. 89; Herodotus, I. 173), and in the prevalence of Greek stories and mythology on the monuments of the country.

No stress can be laid on the names of the Lycian warriors in *Iliad.* v. 677, whom Ulysses slays:—

ἐνθ' ὄγε Κοίρανον εἶλεν, Ἀλάστορά τε Χρόμιόν τε,
Ἀλκανδρόν θ' Ἀλίον τε Νοήμονά τε Πρύτανίν τε.

They are Greek certainly, but so are the names of the Phæaciens in the *Odyssey*. One fact, however, of great weight, as showing the early and complete preponderance of the Greek element, is the name of the river. At the time when the poems of Homer were written it was called Xanthus, yet its original name was Sirbes or Sirbe, (see Cramer, *Asia Minor*, II. 247; Strabo, XIV. 3). This fact is mentioned by Mr. Fellows, (*Second Tour*, p. 278), who states that Sirbes is a Persian word similar in meaning to the Greek Xanthus. We may infer, from the established use of the name Xanthus, that the population who spoke the language allied to Zend was not the dominant race at the time of Homer.

Similar cases of double names are not uncommon in modern

history, and may be found in Wales. The Lycian language, it is to be presumed, was the language of the Solymi, that ancient population from whom the country had been partially wrested by the early Greek colonists, (compare Herod. I. 274; II. vi. 185). It seems probable that the expression of Homer with regard to Bellerophon,

Σολύμοισι μαχέσσαντο κυδαλίμοισι,

points in fact to a border warfare between the Greek and Asiatic races, which terminated in a partial blending of the two nations; but still so that Greek culture and intellect stamped the predominant character on the cities at least, and preserved its intrinsic superiority over the barbaric element. That such a modification of national habits did take place in many respects on the coast of Asia, is pretty clear. Thus Herodotus tells us that the Athenian colonists of Ionia married Carian wives (I. 146), and if we believe what he says in the 5th book (87), the habits of the Carian women reacted even on the mother-country, and caused the adoption of their dress in Attica. The same inference as to a certain mixture of races must be drawn from the custom of tracing the descent through the mother (Herod. I. 172), which must have had a barbaric origin, and from the very existence of bilingual inscriptions.

Strabo (XIII. *ad fin.*) probably intends to imply that the language of the Solymi remained as a living language among the Cibyratæ to the time of Murena. We might illustrate such a state of things by a reference to a portion of England. English laws and customs, and English feeling, though tinged by provincial peculiarities, have for centuries prevailed in Cornwall, yet the Cornish language was still currently spoken in some villages in the time of Camden (*Remains*, p. 27), and the language itself we know was not entirely extinct until a very late period. The alphabet too in which it was written was the same as that of the conquerors. We conceive therefore that the population which occupied Xanthus at the time of its capture by Harpagus was essentially Greek in its character and its culture; and it has been already observed, that there is in the frieze under consideration no difference in the arms of the besiegers and the besieged,—the captives brought before Harpagus are dressed as Greeks would be.

It may be replied, Herodotus expressly tells us that the whole population, with the exception of eighty families, were exterminated, and that those who held the city afterwards were ἐπιλυδοί, a word

which he generally uses in opposition to *αὐτόχθονες*. On the other hand, it by no means follows that the term *ἐπηλυδες* implies more than a population which supplants another, whether that other were or were not the original one of the country. In this instance, Herodotus has previously stated (i. 173), οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης παρχαίων γεγενῆσσι: he then goes on to say that the country was formerly (τὸ παλαιόν) called Μιλήσις, and that the Milyæ were then termed Solymi. The population subdued by Harpagus was evidently the second in this series, not the first, and all these facts appear inconsistent with the late existence of a distinct Lycian race, who maintained their Asiatic character, and were the dominant people of Xanthus down to its capture by Harpagus (see Mr. Fellows' *Second Tour*, 252, 253, 254)².

Colonel Leake's remarks on the style and age of this frieze are as follows (*Letter to Mr. Hamilton*, p. 7):—

"The style of art belongs to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C. The sculptures may nevertheless represent the capture of Xanthus by Harpagus in the middle of the sixth, for Lycia was tributary to Persia for more than two centuries after that event; and Xanthus, as the chief city, was probably the residence of a Persian agent, and was partly governed, like the other cities and provinces of Asia Minor, by native magistrates supported by Persia."

On the assertion that the style belongs to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century a note is added.

"This perhaps may be questioned, and a century or two later may be thought a preferable date: but history would be opposed to it. After the death of Alexander, Western Asia became the scene of conflict between military chieftains, not satraps, although at first so called, but sovereigns with despotic power, contending against one another at the head of large armies; a condition most unfavourable to the arts of peace and the prosperity of the smaller towns: especially as these Greek kings were at the same time bestowing their influence and wealth on the chief cities, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, and Sardes, and on the numerous new towns rising in various parts of Asia Minor, which were named in honour of Alexander, Antigonus, Seleucus, Attalus, Eumenes, and Apamee."

² Thus Mr. Fellows (*Second Tour*, pp. 116, 117), mentions a tomb at Cadyanda with Lycian inscriptions over the figures, and sometimes the Greek names are given as well, and over one of the figures is EKTΩP, thus again proving the contemporary currency of the two languages, and of the Greek poetical narratives.

There seems little to object to in the conclusions thus arrived at by Col. Leake. The composition of the frieze would perhaps lead us, as he says, to assign it to a later period. The groups are complicated and picturesque in their arrangement, rather than marked by that simplicity with which the figures in the best Greek works of this kind usually detach themselves from the ground; at the same time, the work, though not of extraordinary merit, is good. We know so little of the history of art in Asia Minor as yet, that it is rash to guess at any thing like the exact date of a monument by its style or execution. Moreover, if Professor Thiersch's view of the progress of sculpture be in the main true, that is to say, if from the time of Phidias to that of Hadrian art never sunk below a certain pitch of excellence, it is manifestly most difficult to assign a date to any given work executed between these periods on mere intrinsic evidence of style and merit. It can scarcely be maintained, that either of the two long friezes, or the draped figures which were brought from Xanthus with them, can claim a date anterior to the time of Phidias. The latter statues, indeed, bear a manifest resemblance to the works of the Athenian school in the treatment of the drapery, but are less perfect in form, and less successful in execution. There is no want of technical skill, perhaps, in dealing with the marble, but there are certain conventional peculiarities which cannot be considered as improvements. Thus the thin projecting edges of the light folds are generally channeled with a sort of groove, which may have given lightness, but must have injured the breadth of effect.

All that we know of the state of art before the time of Phidias, would lead us to consider it extremely improbable that in a remote Greek settlement like Xanthus, sculpture should have been at least half a century in advance of the position which it held at Athens.

C. O. Müller sums up our knowledge of this position in the following words (*de Vita et Oper. Phidiæ*. 56): "Callonis Æginetæ, quem post Olympiadem LX floruisse arbitrantur, signa duriora et Tuscanicis proxima fuisse; etiam Canachi Sicyonii, qui circa tempus bellorum Persicorum florebat, rigidiora quam ut veritatem imitentur; deinde Hegiam Critiamque, Canachi æquales ob accuratam quidem sed severiorem lineamentorum descriptionem atque nervos et toros austerius indicatos notari; jam minus rigida fuisse Calamidos, artificis egregii mox insecuti, signa; atque molliora omnibus supradictis Myronem fecisse, Phidiæ æqualem, neque tamen etiam hæc satis ad veritatem adducta, ita ut, quam *tenaciter arti etiam* florentissimæ priscus quidam rigor inhæserit,

appareat : quo magis observandum est, hunc ab antiquis nunquam reprehendi in Phidia." (Compare *Handbuch der Kunst*, § 92. 1).

Müller's authority is so great on this subject, that it is needless to refer to the passages of ancient authors which support these views, or to confirm them by quoting other modern writers. The fact then is, that through the genius of Phidias art made one of those sudden advances which seem necessary conditions of its progress, and to which the history of modern painting may supply an analogous instance. It is difficult to convince ourselves that the *Sposalizio* in the Brera and the *Transfiguration* were both the work of one man, who, after all, died at the age of 37. The vigorous genius of Michael Angelo had broken through the obstacles which still impeded art, and on the stock planted by him, Raphael grafted and caused to ripen into full maturity his own feeling for gentle beauty, and his own power of expressing every variety of human emotion. M. Angelo and Phidias hold an analogous position in their relation to the masters who preceded them; and it may be allowable to say, that in both there is visible something of the same exulting consciousness of difficulty overcome, sporting, as it were, with the material which perpetually checked and fettered the efforts of inferior artists.

It would seem therefore in the highest degree improbable that the execution of that portion of the Xanthian Marbles now under consideration, should have preceded, or have been contemporary with, the crisis in the history of sculpture to which allusion has just been made.

Our scanty means of comparison with existing monuments would lead us to the same result. We have no means of ascertaining the date of the bas relief in the Villa Albani already alluded to, nor of that of Agamemnon and Talthybius, for the existence of the Ω on the latter affords no certain guide³. The rude and singular metopes from Selinus are certainly not anterior to the 38th or 40th Olympiad (see Thiersch, *Epochen der Gr. Kunst*, p. 420, sqq.); and the *Æginetan* marbles in all probability are subsequent to the victory of Salamis (see Müller, *Handbuch*, § 90. 3). Now between the stiffness of these latter works and the flying drapery and complicated composition of the friezes and statues from Xanthus, there is an enormous interval. This interval, it is true, as we have seen, need not be one of time, but it involves just such a crisis as took

³ It is disputed whether this is an Ω , but a careful inspection of the monument itself leaves little room for doubt.

place through the agency of Phidias, be the years few or many which were occupied in bringing it about.

Again, to approach still nearer to the locality of Xanthus, those ancient fragments of sitting figures in the sacred way to the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ near Miletus appear to bear all the marks of the most severe and rigid stiffness of the early school of art. On one of these there is an inscription relating apparently to their dedication, (see Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, p. 240, *Letter on the inscribed Monument at Xanthus*, p. 14). This inscription is thus commented on by Boeckh (*Corpus Inscr. Gr.* i. p. 55). "Forma elementorum vetus est sed scriptura Ionica quæ Simonidea dicitur. Vocales insunt Η et Ω et composita consona Ξ: βουστροφῆδον tamen tum, quum Ionicæ litteræ vulgo usitata essent, vix arbitror ex communi usu scripsisse Græcos, et videtur mihi hæc scribendi ratio tam hic quam in Sigeensi inscriptione ex antiquioris temporis consuetudine de industria assumpta esse. Ceterum titulus potest Simonideam attingere ætatem: etiam Ξ tum jam notum fuisse docet Hieronis inscriptio: in nostro titulo id bis cernitur accurate expressum, minus distincte in tertiâ lineâ."

Whether, therefore, we look to the apparent interval between these Xanthian works and the few earlier remains which are accessible to us, or whether we compare them with the style of the marbles of Phigalia, known to be contemporary with those of the Parthenon (see Müller, *Handbuch*, § 118. 3. Pausanias, viii. 41. 9), and with the works of Phidias himself, the result is the same; we must not attempt to give them a date approaching that of the event represented on the frieze, by at least a century or a century and a half—and it seems likely from internal evidence that they should be placed still later.

So much time has been spent in discussing questions which suggested themselves, in connexion with the representation of the capture of Xanthus, that allusion can scarcely be made to the other frieze, and the remaining fragments. The former consists of slabs larger than those on which the conquest of Harpagus is sculptured. The execution of the work is inferior to its conception; many of the attitudes and motives have great spirit and beauty.

Whilst all must sincerely rejoice that Mr. Fellows's public spirit and enterprize have enabled him to secure remains of so much interest for our national museum, it is to be hoped that this harvest is not the last which we shall reap from the same country through his exertions.

E. W. HEAD.

XVIII.

ON THE SO CALLED MONUMENT OF SESOSTRIS IN ASIA MINOR.

WHEN I wrote the notice of the discovery of the monument of Sesostris in Asia Minor, (*Class. Mus.* p. 82 foll.) I was led into one or two errors by the source from which I derived my information; and I have great pleasure in giving publicity to a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Classical Museum* by the Rev. Henry John Rose, in which these errors are corrected. The most important of them, of which however I was aware before receiving Mr. Rose's letter, who remarks upon it in a postscript, is, that the monument recently discovered is not the one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, which, as far as I am aware, no one has yet seen; but the one on the road from Smyrna to Sardis¹. The other error respecting the priority of the discovery will be best explained by Mr. Rose's own letter, though I must state that the ground on which the discovery was attributed to Dr. von Eckenbrecher², was a mere report which Prof. Welcker heard at Smyrna, and in consequence of which he visited the place, conducted by a Turkish guide who assured him that he had already conducted *several* travellers to the spot.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

Sir,

"I feel assured that you will have pleasure in communicating to the public the following circumstances relative to the recent discovery of the figures made by Sesostris in Asia Minor.

"You have attributed (p. 82 of No. 1) the discovery of one of these figures to Dr. von Eckenbrecher. I am prepared to show that it was discovered by a countryman of our own, above 25 years ago; and, *I believe*, that I can trace this new discovery of it to an indirect communication from this country.

¹ Into this error I was led by the words of Professor Welcker, who says, "the monument of Sesostris on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, which is mentioned by Herodotus, and which, as I was told at Smyrna, was first discovered by Dr. von Eckenbrecher," &c. How he could

make this mistake, is almost inconceivable, as he had been at Nymphi and seen the monument.

² Dr. von Eckenbrecher himself has never published any thing upon this monument, so that I am unable to say what claims he makes to the discovery.

"The Rev. G. C. Renouard, who was for many years chaplain at Smyrna, and who is now the able secretary of the Geographical Society, before he left Smyrna had obtained a sight of this figure; and he did not, I believe, immediately attribute the figure to Sesostris; but afterwards, on looking at the passage of Herodotus which you have cited, made the application. Before he left Smyrna also, he had made known to several of his friends the discovery he had made, and among those friends was Mr. Burgon, who well remembers these circumstances.

"I will now subjoin a copy of a MS. note, made by my late brother, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, immediately after a conversation with Mr. Renouard:—

(COPY.)

Nov. 26, 1817.

"The Rev. G. C. Renouard, of Sidney [Coll. Cambridge], who was formerly Chaplain at Smyrna, told me to-day that he had heard of a figure engraved on a rock near Nymphio, the ancient Nymphæum, and after some difficulty, it was shewn him by the common people; it was at the distance of fifteen feet from the ground, and was evidently of great antiquity, being nearly effaced, so that the mere outline was visible. It was the figure of a man in a tiara.

"Mr. Renouard had ascertained that one of the great roads from Mysia to Lydia went close to Nymphæum. It should be further observed, that he did not go in search of this figure, from being aware of the fact stated in Herodotus. This he did not know till some years afterwards, when he was accidentally reading Herodotus."

"This extract from my own common-place book (into which I had copied my brother's statement), and that too a common-place book of early date, begun at school in 1814, is conclusive as to the priority of this discovery.

"I think I can now prove the fact of a communication of this discovery to scholars residing at Berlin some years ago. In 1839, Dr. Lepsius (now in Egypt, under the auspices of the Prussian government, whose liberal patronage of all scientific researches does them the highest credit,) was in England, and a frequent visitor at the house of Mr. Burgon, whose knowledge of Numismatics and of Greek Antiquities, as well as his rare and beautiful collection of Greek Coins, Terra Cottas, &c. (mentioned in Müller *Archäologie der Kunst.*, p. 342, 2nd Edition,) attracted to his house most of the learned foreigners who visited England. The circumstance above related was mentioned by him to Dr. Lepsius, who immediately interested himself in the question, and either wrote to Berlin on the matter, or being there shortly afterwards, brought the subject under the notice of scholars there, and the consequence was, I believe partly by the instrumentality of government, that further researches were immediately made in Asia Minor, and the result has been the discovery mentioned in your first number as made by Dr. von Eckenbrecher.

"I have written this simple statement that the honour of this discovery may be given to those to whose sagacity it is justly due. Mr. Renouard's accurate knowledge of Ancient and Oriental Geography (accompanied as it is, by an unusually extended knowledge of every class of language, living or dead), is too well known to need my faint tribute of praise. It is only to be lamented, that one who has contributed so largely to the stores of knowledge in this country, should have made his contributions with so little regard to his own fame. He has been content to labour for the advancement of knowledge, without looking for the meed of human praise and reputation.

"In justice to him, knowing that his own modesty might prevent him from preferring his claim to this discovery, I have ventured (without apprising him of my intention) to offer you these few observations, of which you will make that use which you may deem most suitable to the purposes of your *Museum*, and to the advancement of truth.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"HENRY JOHN ROSE."

This letter can leave no doubt on the mind of any reader, that the honour of the discovery belongs to Mr. Renouard, and that it was through him that the attention of scholars and travellers was directed to this interesting monument. M. Kiepert² in an article in Gerhard's *Archaeologische Zeitung*, No. 3, also alludes to the fact, that the monument was discovered many years ago by Mr. Renouard, without however any public notice of it having been given³; and adds, that independent of Mr. Renouard's discovery it was afterwards found again by Dr. von Eckenbrecher, and that at a still later time it was seen by M. Borrell of Smyrna, Charles Texier, Lenormand, De Witte, and others. Several years ago Baron A. von Humboldt received a drawing of this monument from M. A. de Herriat of Smyrna. Dr. Lepsius in whose hands it was placed, laid it before the Academy of Sciences of Berlin and read a paper upon it, in which he declared it, with Herodotus, to be a genuine Egyptian monument of the time of Ramses-Sesostris⁴.

² M. Kiepert accompanied Professor Welcker on his excursion from Smyrna and made a drawing of the monument, of which I have added a copy to this notice.

³ This is not correct, for Mr. Renouard, as Mr. H. J. Rose informs me,

has published a short account of the monument in Vol. IX. of the Miscellaneous division of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, printed as early as 1832, note to the article NATOLIA, p. 435.

⁴ *Monatsbericht der Königl. Akademie zu Berlin*, 1840. p. 39. foll.

Thus far then, matters are now perfectly clear; but scholars have not acquiesced in the opinion of Herodotus and Dr. Lepsius: and the question as to whether the monument first discovered by Mr. Renouard is really a monument of Sesostris and executed by his command, has been made the subject of further discussion in M. Kiepert's article in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*. There can be no doubt that the monument is the same as the one which Herodotus saw and described: the locality, (about a mile sideward of the road from Smyrna to Sardis) the expression *τύπος ἐγκεκολλημένος*, the description of the figure, and above all, the measurement of the figure, which agree with what is seen at the present day, prove the identity of the monument beyond all question. The confusion between the right and left hand is one of so frequent occurrence, and one which is so easily made by the beholder of a picture or sculpture, that it is of no weight in comparison with the other evidence just adduced. Nor can the fact that Herodotus makes no mention of the frame in which the bird is represented, be urged against the identity. But Kiepert, Rosellini and Gerhard, agree in denying the Egyptian origin of the monument altogether. In the time of Herodotus it was the general belief of the Ionian Greeks that it was an Egyptian monument, and the only difference of opinion mentioned by the historian is, that some thought it to be a monument of Memnon, an opinion which Herodotus absolutely rejects. M. Kiepert remarks on this point: "The belief in its Egyptian origin was probably founded on the *γράμματα ἐκ Αἰγύπτου* which existed on the breast of the warrior, but the Greeks were scarcely able to judge of the genuineness of an Egyptian inscription, nor do the place and form of this alleged inscription, as Dr. Lepsius justly remarks, agree with the Egyptian custom, according to which the king's name would not have been omitted. The whole *habitus* and costume (especially the cap or tiara, which is very different from the Egyptian *pshent*, and the form of the shoes), the clumsiness and rudeness in the proportions of the body and in the whole execution, do not agree with other well-known monuments of Sesostris and his time, nor with Egyptian art in general. The only circumstance that might be alleged in support of its Egyptian origin, is the bird in the frame-work before the face of the warrior, which has hitherto not been seen on any other than Egyptian monuments."

While we must thus, continues M. Kiepert⁶, strongly doubt the Egyptian origin of the monument, and let this opinion rest on the authority of the Greeks and Herodotus, we think it just as improbable that it should be of Persian origin, for among the extant Persian sculptures there is nothing that can be compared with it. The Persian conquest of Ionia, moreover, belongs to so late a period that Herodotus, who wrote his history scarcely a century after, and the Ionian Greeks, would surely have known it, if the relief had been cut into the rock by the Persians.

Nothing therefore remains but to ascribe the work to some one of the native nations of Asia Minor, or to a nation which ruled there at one time. Many of the sculptures found in Asia Minor present a striking resemblance in the costume with the one under consideration. We allude to reliefs cut into the rocks near the ruins of an ancient town on the east of the river Halys, which were first discovered and published by Charles Texier⁷. These reliefs show almost precisely the same figures and costume as the monument near Nymphi, except that the proportions of the figures are more correct, for which reason they must perhaps be ascribed to a more advanced stage of the art of sculpture. Their arms only are different, for instead of the bow and lance, they carry clubs and a kind of double-edged sword or axe. Mr. Hamilton (i. p. 394) is inclined to think these figures to be representations of Lydians and Phrygians, for he says, "their head-dress resembles the well-known Phrygian bonnet." But this opinion is inadmissible for two reasons; first, the high head-dress or tiara which appears in these sculptures, is very different from the Phrygian bonnet; and secondly, we know from Herodotus (VII. 74) that the armour of the Lydians resembled very closely that of the Greeks. Hence the opinion which Texier has now adopted seems to be the most probable, namely, that the sculptures east of the river Halys belong to the Sacæ or Scythians. This opinion is supported by the description which Herodotus (VII. 64) gives of the costume and armour of the "Scythians whom the Persians called Sacæ⁸." This description agrees perfectly with

⁶ What here follows is only the substance of Kiepert's article, which enters into sundry other matters not directly connected with the monument near Nymphi.

⁷ *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, pl. 72, 75—79. Compare Hamilton, *Re-*

searches in Asia Minor, the plate after p. 394, in Vol. I.

⁸ Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρβάσις ἐν δὲ ἀπληγμέναις ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ σαγάρεις εἶχον.

the relief of Nymphi, with the exception of the axes, instead of which we have here a lance. Thus we might, indeed, regard the sculptures described by Texier and that of Nymphi as monuments made during the dominion of and by the Cimmerian Scythians, previous to the time of Alyattes of Lydia and Cyaxares of Media; and by the supposition that the relief near Nymphi was executed by the Scythians themselves, we might account for the rudeness of the workmanship, which is of such a kind that it can hardly be ascribed to the Assyrians, Medians or Lydians. We might even ascribe the monument of Nymphi to an earlier invasion of Asia Minor by the Scythians. (Herod. i. 6, with Bähr's note.) But whatever view we may adopt, thus much appears to be certain, that henceforth no one can refer to the monument of Nymphi to support the authenticity of the tradition about an Egyptian invasion of Asia Minor in the time of Sesostris.

Some remarks and conjectures of Rosellini on this monument are added to Kiepert's article by Gerhard. (*Archaeol. Zeit.* p. 45 foll.) In these attempts to explain away the Egyptian origin of the monument near Nymphi, there appears to me to be one great difficulty, which Kiepert only just notices without endeavouring to remove it. I would ask, how was it possible, that Herodotus, who must have seen more Egyptian monuments and inscriptions than any modern traveller, as well as a great many of the monuments and inscriptions scattered about in Asia Minor, should without the least hesitation have pronounced the one near Nymphi Egyptian, if it had not borne strong marks of its origin? He knew the Scythian dress and armour as well as we do, who in fact have learnt these things from him; why then should he not at once have perceived the resemblance of the figure to that of a Scythian warrior? Further, Herodotus expressly mentions the *γράμματα ἰρὰ Αἰγύπτια*, that is, the Egyptian hieroglyphics which he saw cut upon the breast of the figure, and he could surely never have confounded Egyptian hieroglyphics with any other kind of inscriptions that were to be found in Asia Minor: on this point his own judgment must have been perfectly independent of popular notions and traditions.

To complete the account of the so-called monuments of Sesostris, which Herodotus saw, I add a few words on those in Palestine Syria (*ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ*). As Herodotus does not say anything to suggest the locality in which he saw them, the difficulty of

discovering and identifying them is, of course, much greater than in regard to those in Ionia, where the one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa may be discovered ere long. About five miles to the north-east of Berytus (Beirut), by the side of an ancient road, near the mouth of the river Lycus (Nahr-el-Kelb) a number of sculptures are cut in the living rock, which were discovered many years ago and then believed to be the monuments of Sesostris mentioned by Herodotus. They were for the first time published from drawings of Count de Bertou, and discussed by Dr. Lepsius. Six of these reliefs are unquestionably of Persian origin, and the three remaining ones are as unquestionably Egyptian. In the hieroglyphics of the latter even the name of king Sesostris occurs twice, according to Dr. Lepsius⁹. But notwithstanding this, the monuments cannot possibly be those which Herodotus saw, for first of all, those which Herodotus saw were *στήλαι* or pillars¹⁰, whereas here we have reliefs cut into the rock. We may also take it for granted, that he would not have omitted to mention the Persian sculptures, if he had seen them, and they must have been there in his time, since some of them at least were executed under Cambyses. The existence of Egyptian monuments in Syria cannot surprise us, since Egyptian kings of the historical ages made conquests in that country at different times; but there is little hope of ever discovering the pillars of Sesostris which Herodotus saw, since most of those which the Egyptian conqueror was said to have erected in various countries, had disappeared as early as the time of Herodotus himself.

L. SCHMITZ.

⁹ *Annali dell Istituto di Corres. Archeol.* 1838. Vol. x. p. 12. foll. See also Landseer, *Sabean Researches*, No. 9, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Rose.

¹⁰ *Τὰς δὲ στήλας τὰς ἴσται κατὰ τὰς*

χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖν οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεῖναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄρεον ἐοῦσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα.

XIX.

MR. FRERE'S TRANSLATIONS OF ARISTOPHANES.

THE ACHARNIANS, KNIGHTS, BIRDS, and FROGS, of ARISTOPHANES,
translated by the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere.
4to. (*Privately printed.*)

THE reproduction of the comedies of Aristophanes in a modern language seems almost a hopeless task. The endless variety of his style and metres, the exuberance of his witty imagination, the richness and flexibility of the Attic language in which he wrote, and the perpetual by-play of allusions, often intimated merely by a pun, a metaphor, or a strange new compound, to the statesmen, poets, political events and institutions, manners, and domestic history of his times, appear to make it equally difficult to execute a poetical version which shall adhere to the letter, or render the spirit of the original. Mr. Mitchell's translation is lively and clever; and it is the work of a person who has carefully studied the author, and has an extensive acquaintance with Greek literature. By his translation, and his subsequent editions of several of the original plays, he has rendered valuable assistance to the student of Aristophanes. But, considered as a literary work, his translation does not satisfy us. The language is often forced and unnatural; there is an absence of the ease and idiomatic expression by which the Attic poet is so remarkably distinguished; and there is a visible endeavour to supply the graceful freedom and comic luxuriance of the original by strain and exaggeration¹.

¹ In order to avoid any appearance of unfairness, we take, as an illustration of our meaning, a short chorus in the *Knights*, which the critic in the *Quarterly Review*, states "to be translated by Mr. Mitchell with great power and effect." (v. 303. ὦ μαρὰ σὺ.)

'Wretch! without a parallel—
Son of thunder—child of hell,—
Creature of one mighty sense,
Concentrated impudence!

From earth's centre to the sea,
Nature stinks of that and thee.
It stalks at the bar,
It lurks at the tolls;
In th' assembly, black war
And defiance it rolls.
It speaks to our ears
In an accent of thunder;
It climbs to the spheres,
And rives heaven arunder.
Athens deafens at the sound in her ears still
drumming;

Mr. Frere, (who had many years ago exercised his poetical powers upon Aristophanes, and who wrote a fair and indeed favourable critique of the first volume of Mr. Mitchell's translation, in the *Quarterly Review**,) judged rightly that the success of previous translators had not rendered his efforts superfluous. He has accordingly been induced to print, for private distribution, his versions of the *Acharnians*, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Frogs*. If any body was likely to meet with success in this undertaking, it was the author of the admirable imitation of Darwin in the *Antijacobin*—an imitation which bids fair to be much more long-lived than its original—and of the excellent poem of Whistlecraft, the model on which Lord Byron wrote his *Beppo*, but which, by some accident of popular taste, has never obtained a reputation equal to its merits. And in our opinion Mr. Frere's success, as a translator of Aristophanes, has been greater than might have been reasonably anticipated. Of the plays which he has selected, three, the *Knights*, the *Birds*, and the *Frogs*, are certainly the most difficult which a translator could deal with. Moreover, what he has undertaken he has performed; the entire play is rendered, so that the merely English reader can form a complete judgment of the original: no scenes are omitted as unmanageable. Of the four plays, the translations of the *Frogs* and *Knights* appear to us to be the best: the latter, in particular, gives an excellent idea of this masterpiece of comic invective; the *δευότῃς* of which was never exceeded by any of the vituperative effusions of those great masters of the art, the Attic orators.

While seated high
You keep an eye
Upon the tolls, like those who spy,
If tunny fish be coming!'

There is nothing in the original which at all resembles the passages which we have printed in italics. Moreover, they are not at all in the style of the original, where the object of making Cleon *ridiculous* is consistently pursued. The last part is *faithfully* rendered, but so as to be scarcely intelligible. It is given by Mr. Frere with considerable expansion,

but with perfect fidelity to the meaning of the original.

You that on the rocky seat of our assembly
raise a din,
Deafening all our ears with uproar, as you
roar and howl and grin;
Watching all the while the vessels with
revenue sailing in.
Like the tunny fishers perch'd aloft, to look
about and bawl,
When shoals are seen arriving, ready to
secure a haul.'

* Vol. XXIII. p. 474—505.

The following is the concluding part of the defence of Dicæopolis : (v. 535.)

Then the Megarians, being all half starved,
Desir'd the Spartans, to desire of us,
Not to repeal those laws; the laws I mentioned,
Occasioned by the stealing of those strumpets.
And so they begg'd and prayed us several times;
And we refused; and so they went to war.
You'll say, 'They should not.' Why, what should they have done?
Just make it your own case: Suppose the Spartans
Had mann'd a boat, and landed on your islands,
And stolen a pug-puppy from Seriphos;
Would you then have remained at home inglorious?
Not so, by no means; at the first report,
You would have launched at once three hundred gallees,
And filled the city with the noise of troops;
And crews of ships, crowding and clamouring
About the muster-masters and paymasters;
With measuring corn out at the magazine,
And all the porch choked with the multitude;
With figures of Minerva, newly furbished,
Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
With wineskins, kegs and firkins, leeks and onions;
With garlic cramm'd in pouches, nets, and pokes;
With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded
With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails;
With shaping oars, and holes to put the oar in;
With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring;
Words of command, whistles, and pipes, and fifes.
Such would have been your conduct. Will you say
That Telephus would have acted otherwise.

The following is an example of a translation of a choral speech in tetrameter trochaics. (v. 676.)

We the veterans of the city, briefly must expostulate
At the hard ungrateful usage which we meet with from the state,
Suffering men of years and service at your bar to stand indicted,
Bullied by the beardless speakers, worried, and perplexed and frightened,
Aided only by their staff, the staff on which their steps are stayed;
Old, and impotent, and empty; deaf, decrepid, and decayed.
There they stand, and pore, and drivel, with a misty purblind gleam;
Scarce discerning the tribunal, in a kind of waking dream.
Then the stripling, their accuser, fresh from training, bold and quick,
Pleads in person, fencing, sparring, using every turn and trick;
Grappling with the feeble culprit, dragging him to dangerous ground,
Into pitfalls of dilemmas, to perplex him and confound.

the scene where the peaceable Dicæopolis, having made a separate truce with the Lacedæmonians, comes forth with his family and slaves to lead a procession to Dionysus upon his farm. He then addresses the following song to Bacchus, which seems to us to have gained rather than lost by its change of dress. (v. 259.)

Dic. Follow behind thou, Xanthias, with the pole,
And I'll strike up the bacchanalian chaunt.
—Wife, you must be spectator, go within,
And mount to the housetop to behold us pass.

(*Sings.*) Leader of the revel rout,
Of the drunken war and shout,
Crazy mirth and saucy jesting,
Frolic and intrigue clandestine!
Half a dozen years are past,
Here we meet in peace at last.
All my wars and fights are o'er:
Other battles please me more,
With my neighbour's maid, the Thracian,
Found marauding in the wood;
Seizing on the fair occasion,
With a quick retaliation
Making an immediate booty
Of her innocence and beauty.—
If a drunken head should ache,
Bones and heads we never break.
If we quarrel over night,
At a full carousing soak,
In the morning all is right;
And the shield hung out of sight
In the chimney smoke.

Dicæopolis is however interrupted in his thanksgiving, by the irruption of the chorus, to whom he is compelled to plead for his life. Before he commences his defence, he thus laments their violence: (v. 352.)

'Tis passing strange
That human nature should be so possest
With a propensity to pelt and bawl;
When gentle easy Reason might decide
All their debates with order, peace, and law;
When I myself stand here resigned, and ready
To plead my cause before a chopping block,
To vindicate the Spartans and myself.
Yet I, forsooth, can feel the fear of death,
And hold my life as dear as others do.

Spit upon him as you see; spurn and spit at him like me.
But beware or he'll evade ye, for he knows the private track
Where Eucrates was seen escaping with his mill-dust on his back.

Cleon. Worthy veterans of the jury, you that either right or wrong,
With my threepenny provision, I've maintained and cherish'd long,
Come to my aid! I'm here waylaid—assassinated and betray'd—

Chorus. Rightly serv'd! we serve you rightly, for your hungry love
of pelf;

For your gross and greedy rapine, gormandizing by yourself;
You that ere the figs are gathered, pilfer with a privy twitch
Fat delinquents and defaulters, pulpy, luscious, plump and rich;
Pinching, fingering and pulling—tampering, selecting, culling,
With a nice survey discerning, which are green and which are turning,
Which are ripe for accusation, forfeiture and confiscation.

Him besides, the wealthy man, retir'd upon an easy rent,
Hating and avoiding party, noble-minded, indolent,
Fearful of official snares, intrigues, and intricate affairs;
Him you mark; you fix and hook him, whilst he's gaping unawares;
At a fling, at once you bring him hither from the Chersonese,
Down you cast him, roast and baste him, and devour him at your ease.

Cleon. Yes! assault, insult, abuse me! this is the return I find,
For the noble testimony, the memorial I design'd:
Meaning to propose proposals for a monument of stone,
On the which, your late achievements should be carv'd and neatly done.

Chorus. Out, away with him! the slave! the pompous, empty fawning
knave!

Does he think with idle speeches to delude and cheat us all?
As he does the doting elders, that attend his daily call.
Pelt him here, and bang him there; and here and there and everywhere.

Cleon. Save me neighbours! O the monsters! O my side, my back,
my breast.

Chorus. What, you're forc'd to call for help? you brutal overbearing
pest.

S. S. [returning to *Cleon.*] I'll astound you with my voice; with my
bawling looks and noise.

Chorus. If in bawling you surpass him, you'll achieve a victor's crown.

The following song of the chorus relates to the same subject;
but is in a different style and metre: (v. 322.)

Even in your tender years,
And your early disposition,
You betray'd an inward sense
Of the conscious impudence

Which constitutes a politician.

Hence you squeeze and drain alone the rich milk kine of our allies;
Whilst the son of Hippodamus licks his lips with longing eyes.

But now, with eager rapture we behold

A mighty miscreant of baser mould!

A more consummate ruffian!

An energetic, ardent ragamuffin!

Then the wretched invalid attempts an answer, and at last,
 After stammering and mumbling, goes away condemned and cast:
 Moaning to his friends and neighbours, "All the little store I have,
 All is gone! my purchase money for a coffin and a grave."

We will conclude our extracts from this play with a passage from a choral song in the Cretic metre. Mr. Frere states that "he has endeavoured to develop with more effect a pretty fanciful allusion in the original; the picture, the work of Zeuxis, was an object well known to all the inhabitants of Athens; for the sake of the modern reader it was necessary to insert a slight sketch of it."
 (v. 990.)

Wherefore are ye gone away,
 Whither are ye gone astray,
 Lovely Peace,

Vanishing, eloping, and abandoning unhappy Greece?
 Love is as a painter, ever doting on a fair design.
 Zeuxis has illustrated a vision and a wish of mine.

Cupid is pourtrayed
 Naked, unarray'd,
 With an amaranthine braid
 Waving in his hand;
 With a lover and a maid
 Bounden in a band,
 Cupid is uniting both
 Nothing loth.

Think then if I saw ye with a Cupid in a tether, dear,
 Binding and uniting us eternally together here;
 Think of the delight of it; in harmony to live at last;
 Making it a principle to cancel all offences past.
 Really I propose it, and I promise yet to do my best,
 (Old as you may fancy me) to sacrifice my peace and rest;
 Working in my calling as a father of a family,
 Labouring and occupied in articles of husbandry.
 You shall have an orchard, with the fig-trees in a border round,
 Planted all in order, and a vineyard and an olive-ground.
 When the month is ended, we'll repose from toil,
 With a bath and banquet, wine and anointing oil.

We now pass on to the *Knights*. The first entrance of the chorus is given with great spirit and effect. (v. 247.)

Close around him, and confound him, the confounder of us all,
 Pelt him, pummel him, and maul him; rummage, ransack, overhawl him;
 Overbear him and outbawl him; bear him down and bring him under.
 Bellow like a burst of thunder, robber! harpy! sink of plunder!
 Rogue and villain! rogue and cheat! rogue and villain I repeat!
 Oftener than I can repeat it, has the rogue and villain cheated.
 Close around him left and right; spit upon him, spurn and smite:

Then we shall rejoice and sing,
 Chaunting out with hearty glee,
 "Fill a bumper merrily
 "For the merry news I bring!"

Mr. Frere introduces his translation of the latter part of the long and celebrated parabasis of the *Knights* with the following remark: (v. 595.)

'It is observable, that the antepirrema is generally in a lower and less serious tone than its preceding epirrema; as if the poet were, or thought it right to appear, apprehensive of having been over earnest in his first address. In the present instance, as the poetical advocate of his party, he had already stated their claims to public confidence and favour; and, in the concluding lines, had deprecated the jealousy and envy to which they were exposed. He now wishes to give a striking instance of their spirit and alacrity in the service of the country; and it is given accordingly, in the most univindious manner, in a tone of extravagant burlesque humour.'

Let us sing the mighty deeds of our illustrious noble steeds.
 They deserve a celebration for their service heretofore,
 Charges and attacks, exploits enacted in the days of yore:
 These however strike me less, as having been performed ashore.
 But the wonder was to see them, when they fairly went aboard,
 With canteens and bread and onions, victuall'd and completely
 stored,
 Then they fix'd and dipt their oars, beginning all to shout and
 weigh,
 Just the same as human creatures, "Pull away boys! pull away!"
 "Bear a hand there, Roan and Sorrel! Have a care there, Black
 and Bay."
 Then they leapt ashore at Corinth; and the lustier younger sort
 Stroll'd about to pick up litter, for their solace and disport:
 And devour'd the crabs of Corinth, as a substitute for clover.
 So that a poetic Crabbe, exclaim'd in anguish "All is over!
 "What awaits us, mighty Neptune, if we cannot hope to keep
 "From pursuit and persecution in the land or in the deep."

We are unable to reconcile the allusion to the poet Crabbe in this passage with the canons of translation which Mr. Frere has himself laid down in his article in the *Quarterly Review*. The play upon the name of the modern English poet transplants us somewhat violently from Athens during the Peloponnesian war to England in the nineteenth century. Moreover, we can discern in the original no trace of an allusion to the Attic poet Carcinus. We may add that Mr. Frere's version omits the important words *ροὴ καπνέας* in the last line.

We will conclude our extracts from this play with two specimens of the scene in which Cleon and the sausage-seller bid against one another for the favour of Demus. (v. 810.)

Cleon. 'Tis a scandal, a shame! to throw slander and blame
On the friend of the people! a patriot name,
A kinder protector, I venture to say,
Than ever Themistocles was in his day,
Better and kinder in every way.

S. S. Witness ye deities! witness his blasphemies!
You to compare with Themistocles! you!
That found us exhausted, and filled us anew
With a bumper of opulence; carving and sharing
Rich slices of empire; and kindly preparing,
While his guests were at dinner, a capital supper,
With a dainty remove, both under and upper,
The fort and the harbour, and many a dish
Of colonies, islands, and such kind of fish.
But now we are stunted, our spirit is blunted,
With paltry defences, and walls of partition;
With silly pretences of poor superstition;
And yet you can dare, with him to compare!
But he lost the command, and was banish'd the land,
While you rule over all, and carouse in the hall!

Cleon. This is horrible quite, and his slanderous spite
Has no motive in view but my friendship for you.
My zeal—

Dem. There have done with your slang and your stuff,
You've cheated and chous'd and cajol'd me enough.

S. S. My dear little Demus! you'll find it is true,
He behaves like a wretch and a villain to you.
He haunts your garden and there he plies,
Cropping the sprouts of the young supplies,
Munching and crunching enormous rations
Of public sales and confiscations.

The second is in a different metre:

Cho. O thou, the saviour of the state, with joy and admiration,
We contemplate your happy fate and future exaltation,
Doom'd with the trident in your hand to reign with power and glory,
In full career to domineer, to drive the world before ye;
To raise with ease and calm the seas, and also raise a fortune,
While distant tribes with gifts and bribes to thee will be resorting.
Keep your advantage, persevere, attack him, work him, bait him,
You'll overbawl him, never fear, and out-vociferate him.

Cleon. You'll not advance; you've not a chance, good people, of prevailing;
Recorded facts, my warlike acts, will muzzle you from railing;
As long as there remains a shield, of all the trophy taken
At Pylos, I can keep the field, unterrified, unshaken.

S. S. Stop there a bit, don't triumph yet,—those shields afford a handle

For shrewd surmise; and it implies a treasonable scandal,
That there they're plac'd, all strapt and brac'd, ready prepar'd for action;
A plot it is! a scheme of his! a project of the faction.

— Dear Demus, he, most wickedly, with villanous advisement,
Prepares a force, as his resource, against your just chastisement:

— The curriers and the tanners all, with sundry crafts of leather,
Young lusty fellows stout and tall, you see them leagued together;
And there beside them, there abide, cheesemongers bold and hearty,
Who with the grocers are allied, to join the tanners' party.

— Then if you turn your oyster eye, with ostracising look,
Those his allies, will from the pegs those very shields unhook;
Rushing outright, at dark midnight, with insurrection sudden,
To seize perforce the public stores, with all your meal and pudden.

Dem. Well I declare! the straps are there! O what a deep, surprising,
Uncommon rascal! what a plot the wretch has been devising.

Cleon. Hear and attend, my worthy friend, and don't directly credit
A tale for truth, because forsooth—"The man that told me, said it."

— You'll never see a friend like me; that well or ill rewarded,
Has uniformly done his best to keep you safely guarded;
Watching and working night and day, with infinite detections
Of treasons and conspiracies, and plots in all directions.

S. S. Yes, that's your course, your sole resource, the same device for
ever.

As country fellows fishing eels, that in the quiet river,
Or the clear lake have fail'd to take, begin to poke and muddle,
And rouse and rout it all about, and work it to a puddle,
To catch their game—you do the same in the hubbub and confusion,
Which you create to blind the state, with unobserv'd collusion,
Grasping at ease your bribes and fees. But answer! tell me whether
You, that pretend yourself his friend, with all your wealth in leather,
Ever supplied a single hide, to mend his reverend batter'd
Old buskins?

Dem. No, not he, by Jove! Look at them burst and tatter'd!

S. S. That shews the man! now spick and span, behold, my noble
largess,
A lovely pair, bought for your wear, at my own costs and charges.

There are two passages in the *Knights*, as to which there is
a question between the readings *καρχηδών* and *καλχηδών*; a question
which naturally affects their meaning and historical effect. The
first is from the scene where Demosthenes explains to the sausage-
seller the advantages of being a demagogue; and it is thus
translated by Mr. Frere: (v. 169.)

Dem. Mount here; and from the tressels of your stall
Survey the subject islands circling round.

S. S. I see 'em.

We will conclude our extracts from this play with two specimens of the scene in which Cleon and the sausage-seller bid against one another for the favour of Demus. (v. 810.)

Cleon. 'Tis a scandal, a shame! to throw slander and blame
On the friend of the people! a patriot name,
A kinder protector, I venture to say,
Than ever Themistocles was in his day,
Better and kinder in every way.

S. S. Witness ye deities! witness his blasphemies!
You to compare with Themistocles! you!
That found us exhausted, and filled us anew
With a bumper of opulence; carving and sharing
Rich slices of empire; and kindly preparing,
While his guests were at dinner, a capital supper,
With a dainty remove, both under and upper,
The fort and the harbour, and many a dish
Of colonies, islands, and such kind of fish.
But now we are stunted, our spirit is blunted,
With paltry defences, and walls of partition;
With silly pretences of poor superstition;
And yet you can dare, with him to compare!
But he lost the command, and was banish'd the land,
While you rule over all, and carouse in the hall!

Cleon. This is horrible quite, and his slanderous spite
Has no motive in view but my friendship for you.
My zeal—

Dem. There have done with your slang and your stuff,
You've cheated and chous'd and cajol'd me enough.

S. S. My dear little Demus! you'll find it is true,
He behaves like a wretch and a villain to you.
He haunts your garden and there he plies,
Cropping the sprouts of the young supplies,
Munching and crunching enormous rations
Of public sales and confiscations.

The second is in a different metre:

Cho. O thou, the saviour of the state, with joy and admiration,
We contemplate your happy fate and future exaltation,
Doom'd with the trident in your hand to reign with power and glory,
In full career to domineer, to drive the world before ye;
To raise with ease and calm the seas, and also raise a fortune,
While distant tribes with gifts and bribes to thee will be resorting.
Keep your advantage, persevere, attack him, work him, bait him,
You'll overbawl him, never fear, and out-vociferate him.

Cleon. You'll not advance; you've not a chance, good people, of pre-
vailing;

Recorded facts, my warlike acts, will muzzle you from railing;
As long as there remains a shield, of all the trophy taken
At Pylos, I can keep the field, unterrified, unshaken.

S. S. I'm partly doubtful how I could contrive
To manage an administration altogether.

Dem. The easiest thing in nature! nothing easier!
Stick to your present practice: follow it up
In your new calling. Mangle, mince and mash,
Confound and hack, and jumble things together!
And interlard your rhetoric with lumps
Of mawkish, sweet, and greasy flattery.
Be fulsome, coarse, and *bloody*! For the rest,
All qualities combine, all circumstances,
To entitle and equip you for command;
A *filthy* voice, a villanous countenance,
A vulgar birth, and parentage, and breeding.
Nothing is wanting, absolutely nothing.

In the translation of this passage, which is expanded with great felicity and richness of expression, one circumstance has been introduced which is not in the original, and which we cannot but consider as inconsistent with its spirit. According to the full-length picture of the Athenian demagogue, drawn in this play, he is impudent, coarse, versatile, unscrupulous, corrupt, and rapacious; but he is never, as far as we recollect, described as sanguinary. He flatters the people, he deceives them, he plunders them: he bellows in the pnyx, and browbeats an antagonist; but he does not thirst after blood. The aspect of a demagogue as represented in the *Knights* is quite revolting enough, without the new feature added by Mr. Frere. Lower down, the words *φωνη μαρὰ* are perhaps not adequately translated by "*filthy* voice." *Μαρὰς* is that which excites loathing and disgust; see *c. g.* v. 303, where Cleon is addressed, *ὦ μαρὰ καὶ βδελυρὲ καὶ κατακερῶκτα*.

As in the *Knights* we commenced our extracts with the first appearance of the chorus in their character of the enemies of Cleon, so in the *Birds* we will first present to our readers the lyric strains in which the hoopoe collects the feathered choristers together. (v. 227).

Hoo. Hoop! hoop!
Come in a troop,
Come at a call,
One and all,
Birds of a feather,
All together,
Birds of an humble gentle bill,
Smooth and shrill,

Dem. And all their ports and merchant vessels?

S. S. Yes, all.

Dem. Then an't you a fortunate happy man?

An't you content? Come then for a further prospect.

*Turn your right eye to Caria, and your left
To Carthage! and contemplate both together.*

S. S. Will it do me good, d'ye think, to learn to squint?

Dem. Not so; but everything you see before you
Must be disposed of at your high discretion,
By sale or otherwise.

Upon this passage, Mr. Frere remarks: "Carthage must be the true reading: the right eye to Caria and the left to Chalcedon would not constitute a squint."

Later in the play, the triremes are represented as having remonstrated against a certain expedition upon which Hyperbolus wished to send them. Mr. Frere translates thus: (v. 1303.)

In the town it passed for truth,
That a certain lowbred upstart, one Hyperbolus forsooth,
Asks a hundred of our number, with a further proposition,
That we should sail with him to *Carthage* on a secret expedition.

Here Mr. Frere remarks: "Carthage in this instance may admit of a doubt; but it was by no means beyond the speculations of Athenian ambition at this time." Boeckh, however, is of a different opinion; he thinks that the idea was new at the time when it was brought forward by Alcibiades, and that *καλχηδών* is evidently the right reading in both passages of the *Knights* (*Econ. of Ath.* b. ii. note 615). The emendation was made long ago, and all the modern editions adopt it. The objection as to the squint does not strike us as forcible; the distance from Chalcedon to Caria is quite sufficient to prevent the extreme points from being included in the same view; moreover, Demosthenes is speaking of the actual *ἀρχή* of Athens, the subject lands and cities; and Carthage was certainly not one of these. *καλχηδόνιοι* has been correctly restored from the MSS. by Goettling and Bekker in the Aristotelian *Œconomics*, for *καρχηδόνιοι*, the reading of the old editions; (Vol. II. p. 1347, ed. Bekker, and see *Philol. Mus.* Vol. I. p. 133.)

The following passage occurs lower down in the same scene; where the sausage-seller doubts of his fitness for the character of a demagogue. (v. 211.)

Twigs of bird-lime, loops, and snares,
 To catch you kidnapp'd unawares;
 Even within the temple's pale,
 They set you forth to public sale,
 Paw'd and handled most severely:
 And not content with roasting merely
 In an insolent device,
 Sprinkle you with cheese and spice;
 With nothing of respect or favour,
 Derogating from your flavor.
 Or for a further outrage, leave ye
 Sous'd in greasy sauce and gravy.

Hoo. Sad and dismal is the story,
 Human stranger, which you tell,
 Of our father's ancient glory,
 Ere the fated empire fell.
 From the depth of degradation,
 A benignant happy fate
 Sends you to restore the nation;
 To redeem and save the state.
 I consign to your protection,
 Able to preserve them best,
 All my objects of affection,
 My wife, my children, and my nest.

We now pass to the famous parabasis of this play, to which Mr. Frere has prefixed a short introductory note. (685)

'Of the Parabasis before us, the merits are well known, and perhaps no passage in Aristophanes has been oftener quoted with admiration. To bring the most sublime subjects within the verge of comedy, and to treat of them with humour and fancy, without falling into vulgarity or offending the principles of good taste, seems a task which no poet whom we know of could have accomplished. Though if we were possessed of the works of Epicharmus, it is possible that we might see other specimens of the same style.'

Ye children of man, whose life is a span,
 Protracted with sorrow from day to day,
 Naked and featherless, feeble and querulous,
 Sickly, calamitous creatures of clay!
 Attend to the words of the Sovereign Birds,
 (Immortal, illustrious, lords of the air)
 Who survey from on high, with a merciful eye,
 Your struggles of misery, labour, and care.
 Whence you may learn and clearly discern
 Such truths as attract your inquisitive turn;
 Which is busied of late, with a mighty debate,
 A profound speculation about the creation,
 And organical life, and chaotical strife,

With various notions of heavenly motions,
 And rivers and oceans, and valleys and mountains,
 And sources of fountains, and meteors on high,
 And stars in the sky. We propose by and by,
 (If you'll listen and hear) to make it all clear.
 And Prodicus henceforth shall pass for a dunce,
 When his doubts are explain'd and expounded at once.

Before the creation of Æther and Light,
 Chaos and Night together were plight,
 In the dungeon of Erebus foully bedight.
 Nor ocean, or air, or substance was there,
 Or solid or rare, or figure or form,
 But horrible Tartarus rul'd in the storm :

At length, in the dreary chaotical closet
 Of Erebus old, was a privy deposit,
 By Night the primeval in secrecy laid ;
 A mystical egg, that in silence and shade
 Was brooded and hatch'd ; till time came about :
 And Love, the delightful, in glory flew out,
 In rapture and light, exulting and bright,
 Sparkling and florid, with stars in his forehead,
 His forehead and hair, and a flutter and flare,
 As he rose in the air, triumphantly furnish'd,
 To range his dominions, on glittering pinions,
 All golden and azure, and blooming and burnish'd.

He soon, in the murky Tartarean recesses,
 With a hurricane's might, in his fiery caresses
 Impregnated Chaos ; and hastily snatch'd
 To being and life, begotten and hatch'd,
 The primitive Birds : but the Deities all,
 The celestial Lights, the terrestrial Ball,
 Were later of birth, with the dwellers on earth,
 More tamely combin'd, of a temperate kind ;
 When chaotical mixture approach'd to a fixture.

Our antiquity prov'd ; it remains to be shewn ;
 That Love is our author, and master alone ;
 Like him we can ramble, and gambol, and fly
 O'er ocean and earth, and aloft to the sky :
 And all the world over we're friends to the lover,
 And when other means fail, we are found to prevail,
 When a peacock or pheasant is sent as a present.

We subjoin the conclusion of this parabasis. (v. 785.)

Nothing can be more delightful than the having wings to wear !
 A spectator sitting here, accommodated with a pair,
 Might for instance (if he found a tragic chorus dull and heavy)
 Take his flight and dine at home ; and if he did not chuse to leave ye,
 Might return in better humour, when the weary drawl was ended.
 Introduce then wings in use—believe me matters will be mended :
 Trust me, wings are all in all ! Diitrephes has mounted quicker

Than the rest of our aspirants, soaring on his wings of wicker:
 Basket-work, and crates and hampers, first enabled him to fly;
 First a captain, then promoted to command the cavalry;
 With his fortunes daily rising, office and preferment new,
 An illustrious, enterprising, airy, gallant cockatoo.

We now annex a passage of the Iambic dialogue in the latter part of the play. It is taken from the scene in which Peisthetærus receives the account of the completion of his city in the air. (v. 1118.)

Well, Friends, and Birds! the sacrifice has succeeded,
 Our omens have been good ones: good and fair.
 — But what's the meaning of it? We've no news
 From the new building yet! No messenger!
 Oh! there at last, I see, — There's somebody
 Running at speed, and panting like a racer.

[*Enter a messenger, quite out of breath; and speaking in short snatches.*]

Mess. Where is he? Where? Where is he? Where? Where is he?
 The president Peisthetærus.

Peis. [*coolly.*] Here am I.

Mess. [*in a gasp of breath.*] Your fortification's finish'd.

Peis. Well! That's well.

Mess. A most amazing, astonishing work it is!
 So that Theagenes and Proxenides
 Might flourish and gasconade and prance away,
 Quite at their ease, both of them four-in-hand,
 Driving abreast upon the breadth of the wall,
 Each in his own new chariot.

Peis. You surprise me,

Mess. And the height (for I made the measurement myself)
 Is exactly a hundred fathom.

Peis. Heaven and earth!

How could it be? such a mass! who could have built it?

Mess. The Birds; no creatures else, no foreigners,
 Egyptian bricklayers, workmen or masons,
 But, they themselves, alone, by their own efforts,
 (Even to my surprise, as an eye-witness)—
 The Birds, I say, completed everything:

There came a body of thirty thousand cranes,
 (I won't be positive, there might be more)
 With stones from Africa, in their craws and gizzards,
 Which, the stone-curlews and stone-chatterers
 Work'd into shape and finish'd. The sand-martins,
 And mudlarks, too, were busy in their department,
 Mixing the mortar, while the water birds,
 As fast as it was wanted, brought the water
 To temper and work it.

Peis. (*in a fidget*) But, who serv'd the masons?

Who did you get to carry it?

Mess. To carry it?

Of course, the carrion crows and carrying pigeons.

We subjoin a passage from the scene in which the goddess Iris apprehended in her flight down to earth, and brought as a prisoner before Peisthetærus. (v. 1229.)

- I.* Now then, you'll please to tell me where you're going?
Which way you're steering with those wings of yours?
I?....I'm commissioned from my father Jove,
To summon human mortals to perform
Their rites and offerings and oblations, due
To the powers above.

Peis. And who do you mean? what powers?

- I.* What powers? ourselves, the Olympian Deities!
s. So then! you're Deities, the rest of ye!
I. Yes to be sure. What others should there be?
s. Remember!—! once for all!—! that we, the Birds,
Are the only Deities from this time forth;
And, not your father Jove. By Jove! not he!
I. Oh! rash, presumptuous wretch! Incense no more
The wrath of the angry Gods! lest Ruin drive
Her ploughshare o'er thy mansion; and Destruction
With hasty besom sweep thee to the dust;
Or flaming Lightning smite thee with a flash,
Left in an instant smouldering and extinct.
s. Do ye hear her?—Quite in tragedy!—quite sublime!
Come let me try for a bouncer in return.
Let's see.—Let's recollect.—“Me dost thou deem,
Like a base Lydian or a Phrygian slave,
With hyperbolical bombast to scare?
I tell ye, and you may tell him,—Jupiter,—
If he provokes me, and pushes things too far—
Will see some eagles of mine, to outnumber his,
With firebrands in their claws about his house.

We conclude our extracts from this play with a description of bridal pomp of Peisthetærus. (v. 1706.)

O fortunate! O triumphant! O beyond
All power of speech or thought, supremely blest,
Prosperous happy Birds!—behold your king,
Here in his glorious palace; mark his entrance,
Dazzling all eyes, resplendent as a star;
Outshining all the golden lights that beam
From the rich roof, even as a summer sun,
Or brighter than the sun, blazing at noon.
He comes; and at his side a female form
Of beauty ineffable; wielding on high,

Than the rest of our aspirants, soaring on his wings of wicker:
Basket-work, and crates and hampers, first enabled him to fly;
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Dazzling all eyes, resplendent as a star;
Outshining all the golden lights that beam
From the rich roof, even as a summer sun,
Or brighter than the sun, blazing at noon.

He comes; and at his side a female form
Of beauty ineffable; wielding on high,

In his right hand, the winged thunderbolt,
 Jove's weapon.—While the fumes of incense spread
 Circling around, and subtle odours steal
 Upon the senses from the wreathed smoke,
 Curling and rising in the tranquil air.

See there he stands! Now must the sacred muse
 Give with auspicious words her welcome due.

Semichorus.

Stand aside and clear the ground,
 Spreading in a circle round,
 With a worthy welcoming;
 To salute our noble king
 In his splendour and his pride,
 Coming hither, side by side,
 With his happy loving bride.
 O the fair delightful face!
 What a figure! what a grace!
 What a presence! what a carriage!
 What a noble worthy marriage!
 Let the Birds rejoice and sing,
 At the wedding of the king:
 Happy to congratulate
 Such a blessing to the state.

Hymen Hymen! Hoh!

Our first extract from the *Frogs* shall be taken from the dialogue between Bacchus and the croaking chorus, when he and Xanthias are rowing across the lake, at the entrance of the infernal region, in Charon's boat. (v. 230.)

Frogs. In reproof
 Of your scorn,
 Mighty Pan
 Nods his horn:
 Beating time
 To the rhyme,
 With his hoof,
 With his hoof.
 Persisting in our plan;
 We proceed as we began.
 Brèke-kèsh, Brèke-kèsh
 Kóóash, Kóóash.

B. O the frogs, consume and rot'em,
 I've a blister on my bottom.
 Hold your tongues, you tuneful creatures.

Frogs. Cease with your profane intreaties,
 All in vain for ever striving;
 Silence is against our natures.
 With the vernal heat reviving,

Our aquatic crew repair
 From their periodic sleep
 In the dark and chilly deep,
 To the cheerful upper air;
 Then we frolic here and there,
 All amidst the meadows fair;
 Shady plants of asphodel,
 Are the lodges where we dwell;
 Chaunting in the leafy bowers
 All the livelong summer hours,
 Till the sudden gusty showers
 Send us headlong, helter skelter,
 To the pool to seek for shelter;
 Meagre, eager, leaping, lunging,
 From the sedge wharfage plunging
 To the tranquil depth below,
 There we muster all a-row;
 Where, secure from toil and trouble,
 With a tuneful bubble bubble,
 Our symphonious accents flow.
 Brèkeke-kèsh, Koàsh, Koàsh.

B. I forbid you to proceed,

Frogs. That would be severe indeed,
 Arbitrary, bold, and rash,
 Brèkeke-kèsh, Koàsh, Koàsh.

B. I command you to desist—

— Oh my back, there! oh my wrist!
 What a twist!
 What a sprain!

Frogs. Once again—

We renew the tuneful strain.
 Brèkeke-kèsh, Koàsh, Koàsh.

B. I disdain—(hang the pain).

All your nonsense, noise, and trash.
 Oh my blister!—Oh my sprain!

Frogs. Brèkeke-kèsh, Koàsh, Koàsh.

Friends and Frogs, we must display
 All our powers of voice to day;
 Suffer not this stranger here,
 With fastidious foreign ear,
 To confound us and abash.
 Brèkeke-kèsh, Koash, Koash.

B. Well, my spirit is not broke,

If its only for the joke,
 I'll outdo you with a croak.
 Here it goes, "Koash, Koash."

Frogs. Now for a glorious croaking crash
 Brèkeke-kèsh, Koash, Koash.

B. I'll disperse you with a splash.

Frogs. Brèkeke-kèsh, Koash, Koash.

B. I'll subdue

Your rebellious noisy crew,

— Have amongst you there, slap-dash.

Frogs. Brèkeke-kesh, Koash, Koash,

We defy your oar and you.

After Bacchus and his slave have crossed the lake, they land on the shore of Hades, and are received by a band of the initiated singing in chorus their mystic songs. The following dialogue then takes place. (v. 431.)

Bacchus. [to the Chorus.] Prithy, my good fellows,
Would you please to tell us
Which is Pluto's door;
I'm an utter stranger,
Never here before.

Chorus. Friend, you're out of danger,
You need not seek it far;
There it stands before ye,
Before ye, where you are.

B. Take up your bundles, Xanthias.

X. Hang all bundles;

A bundle has no end, and these have none.

[*Exeunt Bacchus and Xanthias.*]

Semichorus.

Now we go to dance and sing
In the consecrated shades;
Round the secret holy ring,
With the matrons and the maids,
Hither I must haste to bring
The mysterious early light,
Which must witness every rite }
Of the joyous happy night.

Semichorus.

Let us hasten—Let us fly—
Where the lovely meadows lie;
Where the living waters flow;
Where the roses bloom and blow.
—Heirs of immortality,
Segregated, safe and pure,
Easy, sorrowless, secure,
Since our earthly course is run
We behold a brighter sun.
Holy lives—a holy vow,
Such rewards await them now.

Bacchus now finds himself disguised as Hercules at the gate of Iuto's palace, where the following scene occurs. (v. 460.)

B. [going up to the door with considerable hesitation.]

Well how must I knock at the door now. Can't you tell me?

How do the native inhabitants knock at doors?

X. Pah! don't stand fooling there; but smite it smartly,
With the very spirit and air of Hercules.

B. Holloh!

Æacus. [from within, with the voice of a royal and infernal porter.]

Who's there?

B. 'Tis I, the valiant Hercules!

E. [coming out.] Thou brutal, abominable, detestable,

Vile, villanous, infamous, nefarious, scoundrel!

—How durst thou, villain as that thou wert, to seize

Our watch-dog Cerberus, whom I kept and tended.

Hurrying him off, half strangled in your grasp.

—But now, be sure we have you safe and fast,

Miscreant and villain!—Thee the Stygian cliffs

With stern adamantine durance, and the rocks

Of inaccessible Acheron, red with gore,

Environ and beleager; and the watch,

And swift pursuit of the hideous hounds of hell;

And the horrible Hydra, with her hundred heads,

Whose furious ravening fangs shall rend and tear thee,

Wrenching thy vitals forth, with the heart and midriff;

While inexpressible Tartesian monsters

And grim Tithrasian Gorgons toss and scatter

With clattering claws, thine interwin'd intestines.

To them, with instant summons, I repair,

Moving in hasty march with steps of speed.

We now pass on to the concluding part of the parabasis of the chorus, which is executed with peculiar happiness. (v. 718.)

Often times have we reflected on a similar abuse

In the choice of men for office, and of coins for common use.

For your old and standard pieces, valued and approved and tried;

Here among the Grecian nations, and in all the world beside;

Recognized in every realm, for trusty stamp and pure assay,

Are rejected and abandon'd for the trash of yesterday;

For a vile adulterate issue, drossy, counterfeit, and base,

Which the traffic of the city passes current in their place!

And the men that stood for office, noted for acknowledg'd worth,

And for manly deeds of honour, and for honourable birth;

Train'd in exercise and art, in sacred dances and in song,

All are ousted and supplanted by a base ignoble throng;

Paltry stamp and vulgar mettle raise them to command and place;

Brazen counterfeit pretenders, scoundrels of a scoundrel race;

Whom the state in former ages scarce would have allowed to stand

At the sacrifice of outcasts, as the scape-goats of the land.

—Time it is...and long has been, renouncing all your follies past,
 To recur to sterling merit and intrinsic worth at last,
 If we rise, we rise with honour; if we fall, it must be so!
 But there was an ancient saying, which we all have heard and know,
 That the wise in dangerous cases have esteem'd it safe and good,
 To receive a slight chastisement from *a wand of noble wood*.

The contest between Æschylus and Euripides for the throne of tragedy, which Bacchus finds impending on his arrival, is ushered in by the following choral song. (v. 814.)

The full-mouth'd master of the tragic quire,
 We shall behold him foam with rage and ire;
 Confronting in the list
 His eager, shrewd, sharp tooth'd antagonist.
 Then will his visual orbs be wildly whirl'd,
 And huge invectives will be hurl'd.
 Superb and supercilious,
 Atrocious, atrabilious,
 With furious gesture and with lips of foam,
 And lion crest unconscious of the comb,
 Erect with rage;—his brow's impending gloom,
 O'ershadowing his dark eye's terrific blaze.
 The opponent, dexterous and wary,
 Will fend and parry:
 While masses of conglomerated phrase,
 Enormous, ponderous, and pedantic,
 With indignation frantic,
 And strength and force gigantic,
 Are desperately sped
 At his devoted head.—
 Then in different style
 The touchstone and the file,
 And subtleties of art
 In turn will play their part;
 Analysis and rule
 And every modern tool;
 With critic scratch and scribble,
 And nice invidious nibble;
 Contending for the important choice:
 A vast expenditure of human voice.

We will give a long passage from the controversy between the two poets, with which our extracts must conclude. (v. 905.)

B. Come now begin, dispute away; but first I give you notice
 That every phrase in your discourse must be refined, avoiding
 Vulgar absurd comparisons, and awkward silly jokings.

Eu. At the first outset I forbear to state my own pretensions;
 Hereafter I shall mention them, when his have been refuted;

After I shall have fairly shewn how he befool'd and cheated
 The rustic audience that he found, which Phrynichus bequeath'd him;
 He planted first upon the stage a figure veil'd and muffled,
 An Achilles or a Niobe, that never shew'd their faces;
 But kept a tragic attitude, without a word to utter.

B. No more they did: 'tis very true—

Eu. In the mean while the chorus
 Strung on ten strophes right-an-end, but they remained in silence.

B. I lik'd that silence well enough; as well perhaps, or better
 Than those new talking characters.

Eu. That's from your want of judgment,
 Believe me.

B. Why perhaps it is;—but what was his intention?

Eu. Why mere conceit and insolence;—to keep the people waiting,
 Till Niobe should deign to speak—to drive his drama forward.

B. O what a rascal!—Now I see the tricks he us'd to play me.

[*To Æschylus, who is shewing signs of indignation by various contortions.*]
 What makes you writhe and wince about?

Eu. Because he feels my censures.
 Then having dragg'd and drawl'd along, half-way to the conclusion,
 He foisted in a dozen words of noisy boisterous accent,
 With lofty plumes and shaggy brows, mere bugbears of the language,
 That no man ever heard before.

Æs. Alas! alas!

B. [*to Æschylus*]. Have done there.
Eu. He never us'd a simple word.

B. [*to Æschylus*]. Don't grind your teeth so strangely.

Eu. But bulwarks and Samanders and hippogriffs and Gorgons,
 "On burnish'd shields emboss'd in brass," bloody remorseless phrases,
 Which nobody could understand.

B. Well, I confess for my part
 I us'd to keep awake at night with guesses and conjectures
 To think what kind of foreign bird he meant by griffin-horses.

Æs. A figure on the heads of ships; you goose, you must have seen
 them.

B. Well, from the likeness I declare I took it for Eruxis.

Eu. So! figures from the heads of ships are fit for tragic diction.

Æs. Well then, thou paltry wretch, explain—What were your own
 devices.

E. Not stories about flying stags, like yours, and griffin-horses;
 Nor terms nor images derived from tap'stry Persian hangings.
 When I received the muse from you, I found her puff'd and pamper'd,
 With pompous sentences and terms, a cumbrous huge virago.
 My first attention was applied to make her look genteelly;
 And bring her to a slighter shape by dint of lighter diet:
 I fed her with plain household phrase, and cool familiar sallad,
 With water-gruel episode, with sentimental jelly,
 With moral mincemeat; till at length I brought her into compass;
 Cephisophon, who was my cook, contriv'd to make them relish.

I kept my plots distinct and clear, and to prevent confusion,
My leading characters rehearsed their pedigrees for prologues.

Æs. Twas well at least that you forbore to quote your own extraction.

Eu. From the first opening of the scene all persons were in action.
The master spoke, the slave replied; the women, young and old ones,
All had their equal share of talk.

Æs. Come then, stand forth and tell us
What forfeit less than death is due for such an innovation?

Eu. I did it upon principle, from democratic motives.

B. Take care my friend, upon that ground your footing is but ticklish.

Eu. I taught these youths to specify.

Æs. I say so too—Moreover
I say that for the public good, you ought to have been hang'd first.

Eu. The rules and forms of rhetoric, the laws of composition;
To prate, to state, and in debate to meet a question fairly:
At a dead lift, to turn and shift, to make a nice distinction.

Æs. I grant it all—I make it all—my ground of accusation.

Eu. The whole in cases and concerns occurring and recurring;
At every turn and every day, domestic and familiar:
So that the audience, one and all, from personal experience,
Were competent to judge the piece, and form a fair opinion
Whether my scenes and sentiments agreed with truth and nature.
I never took them by surprise, to storm their understandings,
With Memnons, and Tydides's, and idle rattle trappings
Of battle-steeds and clattering shields, to scare them from their senses;
But for a test (perhaps the best), our pupils and adherents
May be distinguish'd instantly by person and behaviour;
His are Phormisius the rough, Meganeates the gloomy,
Hobgoblin headed, trumpet-mouth'd, grim visag'd, ugly bearded;
But mine are Cleitophon the smooth, Theramenes the gentle.

In some of the illustrative remarks which Mr. Frere has added to his translation, he has, perhaps, not always sufficiently resisted the temptation, (natural in a person who has long studied an author,) of finding in the words of Aristophanes a deeper and fuller meaning than is discoverable by the less practised vision of an ordinary reader. We think it unnecessary to cite any examples of these conjectures, and we will only adduce a passage in which Mr. Frere bestows a well-merited commendation upon Boeckh's elucidation of the true nature of the Athenian valuation for the property-tax, though we are not aware of the grounds upon which he assumes that Aristophanes belonged to the class of Knights.

“The money-loving spirit of our age manifests itself even in our literary researches; and we cannot refrain, even with respect to an ancient poet who lived 2300 years ago, from the invariable enquiry, *What was*

be worth? It may be inferred then, from grounds of presumption too long to be detailed here, that he must have belonged to the class of the Knights. Now the Knights were rated (according to the *modus* fixed by Solon) at an amount of 300 bushels of corn. But how rated? As for the sum total of their income? Or as being that portion of it which in cases of emergency was exigible for the service of the state? Those students of antiquity, who are not endowed with the faculty of digesting gross absurdities, are under great obligations to Mr. Boeckh, for having relieved them from the cruel necessity of being constrained to believe that a man with £75. a year (taking corn at five shillings a bushel) was bound to keep a war horse, and to serve in the cavalry at his own expense; or that another with an income of £225. (estimated according to the same permanent standard of value) could have been charged with the expenses of a ship of war; a proposition, we conceive, wholly contradictory to the experience of the members of the Yatch Club. Mr. Boeckh has shown that these sums were the extreme rates of taxation to which the individuals of these classes were subject; a rate which was not always exacted in full; and which we may suppose at the utmost to have been a double tithe, or four shillings in the pound; a rate of taxation to which in difficult times our own country was contented to submit. The elucidation of this point is by far the greatest service which Mr. Boeckh has rendered to ancient literature, in the whole of his accurate and learned work. To have dissipated these misapprehensions, which as long as they were implicitly adopted, diffused an air of utter incredibility and unreality over the whole system of antiquity, is a result far more important than the developement of details hitherto unknown and unexamined*.

We had intended to append to this article some specimens of Mr. Frere's translation of parts of Theognis; but the very complete account of this work given in the last number of the *Quarterly Review* (No. 144, p. 452), has rendered this a superfluous task. We will only express our admiration of the facility with which Mr. Frere has passed from the wild, grotesque, and ever-varying language and metres of Aristophanes, to the sedate admonitions and

* We observe, from the instructive work on Thucydides, by Roscher (p. 299), that two new hypotheses have lately been propounded in Germany with respect to the character of Aristophanes. One theory—which, as Roscher says, requires no refutation—makes him a *new-Hegelian*; i. e. a member of the modern ultra-liberal school in philosophy and religion. The other view is taken by Droysen, the author of a translation of Aristophanes, said to be excellent, who considers him as a clever *roué*, a man without principles, belonging to no political

party, without patriotism, and without religion; but overflowing with bold genius, and capable of embellishing the commonest subjects by the magic of his wit. Of these two views, the latter is undoubtedly the nearest to the truth. If we may be allowed to use a modern party phrase, we should call Aristophanes a *tory-radical*. His opinions belong to the aristocratic or conservative side; but his character of a comic poet, and the means which he uses in that capacity, place him in the category of demagogues.

reflexions of the gnostic poet, and the fidelity with which he has represented both sorts of diction in English, always pure, terse, and idiomatic.

We agree with the Quarterly Reviewer in thinking that Mr. Frere has built upon the fragments of Theognis a superstructure of supposed facts, which the foundation is too narrow to support. We will moreover add, that he has sometimes, by combining fragments which appear to be quite separate, obtained a meaning for which no evidence beyond mere conjecture can be produced. These objections to his arrangement, however, rarely affect the success of his translations.

In one or two cases, which we will proceed to point out, Mr. Frere seems to us to have missed the meaning of the original.

The first passage is from v. 53 (fr. xii. Frere).

Our commonwealth preserves its former frame;
 Our *common* people are no more the same.
 They that in skins and hides were rudely dress'd,
 Nor dream't of law, nor sought to be redress'd
 By rules of right; *but in the days of old*
Flocked to the town, like cattle to the fold,
 Are now the brave and wise; and we, the rest,
 (Their betters nominally, once the best)
 Degenerate, debased, timid, and mean!
 Who can endure to witness such a scene?

The Quarterly Reviewer has correctly observed, that the sense of the original has been reversed in the sixth line of the above version. The passage describes the effects of a political revolution in the State of Megara, by which the cultivators, formerly a subject class who dwelt exclusively in the country, wore a dress of skins, and never came into the town for the purpose of making laws or administering justice, had now displaced the ancient aristocracy, and had become the governing class. Instead of avoiding the frequented places like timid deer, they now rule in the city. The consequence of this political change is, that those who were formerly the *εὐθλοί*, the bettermost class, are now the *δειλοί*, the plebeians: the words have not in this context the *moral* force which Mr. Frere attributes to them. They must be construed like the word *κακός* in the address of Demosthenes to the sausage-seller, *which we had occasion to animadvert upon above.* (See p. 250.)

Τὰ δ' ἄλλα σοι πρόσσεστι δημαγωγικά.
φωνή μιὰρὰ, γέγονας κακὸς, ἀγοραῖος εἶ,

i. e. you are of low birth.

V. 641-2 stand thus in the old editions :—

οὐ τοι κῆδει ὁ εἷς οὐτ' εὖνον οὔτε τὸν ἐχθρόν,
εἰ μὴ σπονδαίου πρήγματος ἀντιτύχοις.

Which Mr. Frere translates thus :—

The sovereign single person—what cares he
For love or hate, for friend or enemy?
His single purpose is utility.

adding the note: “the phrase ὁ εἷς is evidently used in the same sense as its corresponding term, ‘the single person,’ which was so frequently employed in England during the ten years from 1650 to 1660 to signify an individual exercising the functions of royalty.” Bekker however has restored the true reading, *οὐ τοι κ' εἰδείης*, from the MSS., which shows the relation of ἀντιτύχοις, and expelled the imaginary ὁ εἷς. He has been followed by the subsequent editors; and the reading seems to us to be required both by the sense and metre. The meaning is, that you cannot discern whether a man is really your friend or not, until you try him in some serious matter.

The following six lines are extremely obscure. (v. 825—30.)

πῶς ὑμῖν τέτληκεν ὑπ' ἀνλητῆρος αἰεῖδιν
θυμός; γῆς δ' οὖρος φαίνεται ἐξ ἀγορῆς,
ἥτε τρέφει καρποῖσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας
ξανθῆσιν τε κόμαις πορφυρέους στεφάνους.
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ, Σκύθα, κείρε κόμην, ἀπόπανε δὲ κῶμον,
πένθει δ' εὐώδη χῶρον ἀπολλύμενον.

Mr. Frere says that, ‘the text is hardly intelligible; but that he has endeavoured to restore the original picture from the traces which are still distinguishable.’ He translates thus: (fr. 61)—

How could I bear it? In the public place
To chant and revel! when before my face
Seen in the distance, I discern the train
Of harvest triumph; and the loaded wain
And happy labourers with garlands crown'd,
Returning from the hereditary ground,
No more my own! *My faithful Scythian slave*,
Break off this strain of idle mirth, and shave
Your flowing locks; and breathe another tone
Of sorrow for my fair possessions gone.

‘Υμῶν in the first line has been restored by Bekker for ἡμῶν: the verses seem to be a remonstrance to certain friends of the author, who are listening to the merry pipe, while the enemy has taken away a part of the territory, so that the boundary of the country can now be seen from the marketplace. So at least the passage is understood by Welcker, p. 116. Σκύθης, in v. 5, appears to us to be the name of a Greek citizen, and to belong to the same class as Cynus⁵, Simonides, Onomacritus, Cleistus, Democles, and the other friends whom Theognis elsewhere addresses. Pape, in his *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, cites Σκύθης as the name of the king of the Zancleans in Sicily, Herod. vi. 23; another Sicilian, vii. 163; a Lacedæmonian, Xen. Hell. iii. 4. § 20.; and an Athenian in Demosthenes. Πέρσης is well-known as the name of Hesiod's brother; Λίβυς was the name of the brother of Lysander, Xen. Hell. ii. 4. § 28.; and Αἰγύπτιος was a common name in later times.

We will now conclude our notice of these pleasing translations, by citing the version into which Mr. Frere has combined the two consecutive fragments, v. 756—68. of Bekker's edition, and which has not been extracted by the Quarterly Reviewer. (fr. 105.)

May Jove the almighty with his own right hand
Guard and uphold this happy town and land!
With all the glorious blessed gods above!
And may the bright Apollo, guide and move
My voice and fancy, cunningly to carp
In songs accordant to the pipe and harp!
When after solemn rites of sacrifice,
At feasts and banquets, freely we devise
Of mirth and pastime; banishing afar
All fears of Persia and her threatened war;
With joyous airy songs of merry verse,
Quaffing and chanting, ‘May we ne’er be worse,’
But better; if a better thing can be,
Than thus to live at ease, cheerful and free;
While far remote no fears our thoughts engage,
Of death approaching, or disastrous age.

G. C. L.

⁵ Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* ch. x. § 14 note, has correctly remarked that πολυ-παίδης is the patronymic name of Cynus, from πολύπας, equivalent to πολυπάρων, a rich proprietor. See also Schneidewin,

Poes. Gr. p. 50. Εἰπαίδας, the name of an Epidaurian in Thuc. iv. 119, seems to be an analogous form. See *Ahren's de Dialecto Dorica*, p. 589.

XX.

MISCELLANIES.

CONJECTURE ON A PASSAGE IN ÆSCHYLUS.

IN the prayer which Electra addresses to Mercury and the soul of her father for the safety of her absent brother, at the commencement of the Choëphoræ, the following verses (129—31. ed. Dindorf.) occur :—

κάγ' ἔχουσα τάσδε χέρνιβας βροτοῖς
λέγω, καλοῦσα πατέρ', ἐποίκτειμόν τ' ἐμέ
φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην, πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις.

No one, we think, can fail being struck with the weakness of the latter clause, πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις; and one would with justice consider that the supplicatory form of address ought not to be interrupted. We would read with a very slight alteration,

..... φῶς τ' ἀνάψον ἐν δόμοις.

The metaphorical use of the word φῶς must be obvious to the classical reader. See Eurip. Hec. 820. Iph. T. 849.

CORRECTION OF A PASSAGE IN EURIPIDES.

Various are the interpretations which the well-known line in the Hecuba of Euripides, 736,

δύστην', ἑμαντὴν γὰρ λέγω λέγουσα σέ,
Ἐκάβη, τί δράσω;

has given rise to: for an account of them we would refer our readers to Hermann's note on that passage. All of them are, we think, equally unsatisfactory. We submit the following to the judgment of our readers :—

δύστην', ἑμαντὴν γὰρ λέγω ποθοῦσα σέ,
Ἐκάβη, τί δράσω;

"Infelix Hecuba, meipsum enim dico quum tui desiderium habeam."

We need hardly observe how easily the error of ποθοῦσα for λέγουσα can be accounted for, by its proximity to λέγω. As to the phrase, ἑμαντὴν γὰρ λέγω, it will be sufficient to refer our readers to Valckenaer's note on Euripides Phœn. 1001.

PHILOLOGUS.

THE RAPE OF EUROPA.

A MARINE DIALOGUE, (*from Lucian*.)*Zephyrus and Notus, (W. and S. Wind).**(West W.)*

WELL, this I will declare,—Since first I blew,
 So fine a pageant never met my view.—
 Did'st see it, brother South?—(S.) What pageant, West,
 Hath thus thy senses and thy sight impress'd?—
 For none I've seen.—(W.) Then 'tis not like again
 Thou'lt meet with such another on the main.—
 Where wast thou?—(S.) Busy by the Indian strand,
 Plying my task, to cool the sultry land
 That stretches inwards.—(W.) Therefore hast thou lost
 The sweetest sight that ever eyeballs cross'd.—
 Thou know'st Agenor, wealthy Sidon's lord.—

(S.) I do;—and of his daughter's charms have heard,—
 The fair Europa.—(W.) 'Tis of her I speak;
 Whose beauty found the Thunderer's heart too weak—
 Long hath he loved, and sought the maid to gain,
 But, till to-day, hath sigh'd and sought in vain.

(S.) How hath he won her then at length?—Explain.

(W.) Joy in her heart, and pleasure in her eye,
 Down to the shore the blooming girl had gone;—
 There, with her maidens, tripping joyously
 She led the dance, and peerless 'mid them shone.

When lo! amid them all a snow-white Bull!
 Who, playful like themselves, had join'd their ring;
 Of noble aspect, and of forehead full,
 The goodly beast his joy was bellowing;

Yet soft the note;—and gentle was his look;
 His youthful horns curl'd graceful o'er his face;
 And deftly leapt he, and each sport partook,—
 So frolicsome, so full of life and grace!—

The God was he!—Europa felt the charm;—
 Love's subtle power was working in her breast;—
 Nor fail'd her heart, or sunk in soft alarm,
 Till with her weight his proffer'd neck she prest:—

Then rush'd he to the main;—and dashing on
Impetuous through the billows plough'd his way;

While rais'd aloft his snowy shoulders shone,
Breaking on either side the Ocean's spray.

And she, his gentle burden, onward borne,
Oft look'd behind, the lessening shore to view ;
Her right-hand timorous grasp'd an arching horn,
Her robe the other closer round her drew,—

Swell'd by the breeze.—

(S.) A beauteous sight, I ween ;

Would I, like you, such spectacle had seen.

F.) A matchless triumph 'twas, achiev'd by love,
Dazzling to look upon, and worthy Jove.

Won by its beauty, soon each Zephyr lay,
Upon the Ocean's bosom hush'd to rest ;
Or join'd themselves companions on the way,
Led by the Loves, who fluttered o'er its breast ;

And holding flaming torches up on high,
Now touch'd the waters with their tiny feet,—
Then, soaring upwards, waved them in the sky,
Singing the wedding-song, when lovers meet.

The Nereïds too, leaving their coral caves,
With joyful notes the tender tale repeated ;
Half hid their charms,—all dancing on the waves,
Or on the finny dolphins sportive seated.

And every living monster of the deep,
In gentlest bearing mingled in the throng ;—
Tritons were gambolling round in circling sweep,
And huge sea-beasts dragging their length along.

E'en Ocean's God had seiz'd his chariot reins,
His Amphitrite smiling by his side,
And urged his coursers o'er the azure plains,
Leading the triumph of his brother's Bride ;—

A joyous convoy : while the Paphian Queen,
Bright Venus' self, within a shell reclining,
By Tritons twain upheld, was laughing seen,
Strewing fair flowers, and bridal garlands twining.

Thus from Phœnicia to the Cretan shore
Its glittering course the pageant onward bore,—
There ceased :—and straight in other semblance drest,
A *Bull* no more, shone forth *the God* confest—

And Jove, all-powerful Jove, with eager hand
Led forth the blushing maiden from the strand,

With downcast eye, and trembling at his side,—
(For now she guess'd herself indeed a bride,)

Till Dicte's shady grot received the pair,
And we were left to gaze and wonder there.
Awhile we linger'd ;—then to sea again,—
We shaped our varying course across the main.

(S.) O lucky brother West, such sight to view,
While I on Southern shores unceasing blew,
Where elephants and griffins have their home,
And dusky negroes o'er their deserts roam.

R. A. SCOTT.

THE PUSHTŪ, OR AFFGHAN LANGUAGE.

[We are indebted for the following vocabulary to Lieut. C. Harris, of the Bengal Army, one of the late prisoners at Ghuzni and Cabul. It is an interesting contribution to the science of Comparative Philology, and will, we hope, induce some of our correspondents to investigate this portion of the subject.]

one	<i>yau</i>	first	<i>yawam</i>
two	<i>dwe</i>	second	<i>doam</i>
three	<i>dre</i>	third	<i>dream</i>
four	<i>salor</i>	fourth	<i>saloram</i>
five	<i>pinza</i>	fifth	<i>pinzam</i>
six	<i>shpa</i>	sixth	<i>ashbakam</i>
seven	<i>owwá</i>	seventh	<i>awam</i>
eight	<i>atlá</i>	eighth	<i>attam</i>
nine	<i>na</i>	ninth	<i>naham</i>
ten	<i>las</i>	tenth	<i>lasam</i>
eleven	<i>yaulas</i>	eleventh	<i>yuolasam</i>
twelve	<i>dwelas</i>	twelfth	<i>dolasam</i>
thirteen	<i>drelas</i>	thirteenth	<i>deerlasam</i>
&c.	&c.	fourteenth	<i>sodarlasam</i>
twenty	<i>shil</i>	fifteenth	<i>pinzlasam</i>
thirty	<i>deras</i>	sixteenth	<i>ashpárlasam</i>
forty	<i>sulwekht</i>	seventeenth	<i>adolasam</i>
fifty	<i>pinzost</i>	eighteenth	<i>atlasam</i>
sixty	<i>ashpetah</i>	nineteenth	<i>nonasam</i>
seventy	<i>auwéá</i>	twentieth	<i>shilam</i>
eighty	<i>atéd</i>		
ninety	<i>flawe</i>	father	<i>palar</i>
hundred	<i>sil</i>	mother	<i>mor</i>

son	{ <i>aulaka</i> <i>zoe</i>	face	<i>khwalah</i>
daughter	<i>khôr</i>	sun	<i>mar</i>
brother	<i>nor</i>	moon	<i>aspung nar</i>
sister	<i>khwar</i>	star	<i>sutor</i>
son-in-law	<i>zum</i>	earth	<i>zinarkah</i>
brother-in-law	<i>aukhiye</i>	sea	<i>rod</i>
sister-in-law	<i>orendâr</i>	water	<i>ôbâ</i>
uncle	<i>abdur</i>	fire	<i>ôr</i>
aunt	<i>turwur</i>	light	<i>ronr</i>
cousin	<i>turbur</i>	day	<i>rwâz</i>
husband	<i>shwî</i>	night	<i>ashpa</i>
wife	<i>khezah</i>	winter	<i>zamî</i>
king	<i>pâdshâh</i>	house	<i>kor</i>
eye	<i>stîrg</i>	door	<i>durudza</i>
brow	<i>makh</i>	hill	<i>ghar</i>
nose	<i>pâz</i>	ox }	<i>gau</i>
tooth	<i>ghakh</i>	cow }	
head	<i>sar</i>	sheep	<i>mekh</i>
hair	<i>chinna</i>	dog	<i>shpe</i>
ear	<i>ghwâz</i>	goat	<i>ojah</i>
right	<i>khwi</i>	horse	<i>âs</i>
left	<i>kenr</i>	ass	<i>khar</i>
nail	<i>nukh</i>	great	<i>luk</i>
knee	<i>urân</i>	long	<i>augad</i>
foot	<i>pakhî</i>	thin	{ <i>uare</i> <i>dangar</i>
heart	<i>zre</i>	light	<i>aspuk</i>
tear	<i>zira</i>	young	<i>zawân</i>
finger	<i>gut</i>	new	<i>nau</i>
		middle	<i>manz</i>
		other	<i>nor</i>

N.B. The letter *r* is a peculiar letter, similar to *rh* in Sanscrit.

The letter *z* is pronounced like the French *j* in *jour*.

XXI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ARISTOTELIS OPERA, ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Accedunt Indices Sylburgiani. Oxonii, e Typographeo Academico, 1837. 11 vols. 8vo.

THE University of Oxford has rendered a useful service to the students of Aristotle, by the reprint, in an octavo size, of the inconve-

nient quarto edition published by Bekker at Berlin. The study of Aristotle had so much ceased in the 18th century (in consequence of the unjust depreciation of the scholastic philosophy,) that no complete edition of Aristotle's works was published between 1654, the date of the last of Duval's editions, and 1831, the date of Bekker's edition. An edition, commenced by Buhle in 1791, as a part of the Bipont classics, and of which five volumes appeared, was stopped by the disturbed state of the continent at that period, and was never resumed. After the peace the celebrated Immanuel Bekker was employed by the University of Berlin to collate the principal manuscripts of Aristotle scattered over the various public libraries of Europe, and to found upon them a new edition of the text. This laborious work was executed by him, and the entire works of Aristotle, with a new text based upon the manuscript readings, were published by him in 1831, in two quarto volumes, the text being printed in a small type, arranged in double columns, and the various readings subjoined to the page. A list of the manuscripts collated is prefixed to the first volume, and a description of them has been promised, but has never appeared. Mr. Bekker's main purpose in this edition seems to have been to adhere faithfully to the manuscripts, without being very solicitous about the meaning. Hence his text will admit, in many places, of improvement by editors of separate treatises, looking to the sense of the words, and combining explanation of the text with its emendation. He has preserved the divisions of chapters in the old editions, which are sometimes of great length, and has neither numbered the sections, nor even preserved such divisions where they had been previously introduced by others. Thus he has not even numbered the paragraphs in the second book of the Aristotelian *Œconomic*. The facility of reference to Aristotle has therefore, unfortunately, not been facilitated by Bekker's edition.

In the Oxford edition the sections have been numbered throughout, as had been previously done for the treatises included in Buhle's edition, in Schneider's edition of the *History of Animals and the Politics*, in Zell's edition of the *Ethics*, &c. We trust that these numbers will be preserved in the editions of single treatises which may be published hereafter, and we commend this matter to the consideration of our German readers, in case we should be so fortunate as to obtain any.

Sylburg's indexes, one an *index verborum*, the other an *index rerum*, are adapted to the paragraphs of the Oxford edition, and the latter index is very full and useful.

At the end of the *Politics*, Neumann's collection of the fragments of Aristotle's *πολιτεῖαι* is reprinted in the Oxford edition. Perhaps Neumann's collection is hardly good enough to deserve the honour of being embalmed in the excellent typography of the Oxford press.

Besides Bekker's edition of Aristotle, and the Oxford reprint, two other editions of the complete works have lately appeared. One is

among the small Tauchnitz classics, the other in one large volume published at Leipzig in 1843, by Weise. The text is taken from the old editions.

LEXILOGUS, or a Critical Examination of the Meaning and Etymology of numerous Greek Words and Paraphrases, intended principally for **HOMER** and **HESIOD**. By Philip Buttmann, LL.D. Translated and edited by the Rev. J. R. Fishlake, late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Second Edition, revised. 1840. 1 vol. 8vo.

WE notice this translation, although not of very recent date, because we are not sure that the *Lexilogus* of Buttmann is as well known in this country as it deserves to be. It is unfortunately an unfinished work, although it is complete as far as it goes. The author's intention was to proceed regularly through Homer, explaining the etymology and signification of all the more difficult words in succession. This work comprises explanations of such words up to the second book: but his further progress was stopped by ill health. In the original, the words are arranged, (as in Bp. Blomfield's glossary to *Æschylus*), in the order in which they occur in Homer. This order would perhaps have been convenient, if the original design had been completed; but Mr. Fishlake has augmented the facility of reference by arranging the words in an alphabetical order. He has likewise consulted the convenience of his English readers, by subjoining to the text, translations of the passages in Schneider's *Lexicon* which Buttmann refers to.

Nobody is infallible in etymology, and the discovery of the successive meanings of words: the greatest philologists sometimes err in these matters. But (without meaning to affirm that Buttmann is never wrong) we consider his *Lexilogus* as a model of etymological and linguistical exposition both as to method and matter; and we believe that no student of the Homeric language can fail to derive important assistance and instruction from it. The articles are however tolerably complete dissertations on the words treated of, and they generally illustrate passages of later writers as well as of Homer.

The translation is carefully and accurately executed; and, as far as we have examined it, leaves nothing to be desired.

XXII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE AND UNIVERSITIES.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.—We have much satisfaction in recording the successful progress of this Society, which was established (under the presidency of the Bishop of St. David's) in the summer of 1842, and commenced the printing of its proceedings at

the end of that year. The 12th number (the last which has been distributed amongst the members) bears the date of June 23. Amongst the papers read before the Society, and abstracted in the proceedings, the following appear to be peculiarly deserving of attention. A notice of European Grammars, and Lexicons of the Sanskrit Language, by Prof. Wilson, in No. 3, and papers on certain inflexions of the old English adjective, and on English Gentile nouns, by Edwin Guest, Esq., in Nos. 6 and 10. Mr. F. W. Newman's paper on the geography of Scythia according to Herodotus, No 7, and Mr. Garnett's papers on the languages and dialects of the British islands, and on the relations of the Picts and Gael with the other tribes of Great Britain, in Nos. 9 and 11, are likewise instructive. Mr. Donaldson has also an elaborate dissertation on the number in Plato's *Republic* (p. 546) in No. 8.

ARCHAEOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG.—Under this title a Journal devoted to the illustration of the remains of ancient art, was founded at the beginning of this year at Berlin. It is edited by the distinguished archaeologist Edward Gerhard. This Journal, which was indeed a desideratum in the periodical literature of Germany, resembles in its plan the archaeological Journals of Rome and Naples, but its usefulness is enhanced by the elegant lithographs of the most important works of ancient art, which are discussed in its pages. The *Archaeologische Zeitung* appears in quarterly parts, and the two which have already been published, contain among others the following interesting articles.

1. *Ueber einen Marmorkopf des Fürsten Talleyrand*, by Th. Panofka. 2. *Das Monumentum Ancyranum; Herstellung desselben aus Griechischem Text*, by J. Franz. 3. *Das sogenannte Monument des Sesostris bei Smyrna*, by H. Kiepert. 4. *Das Harpyienmonument von Xanthus, gegenwärtig im Brittischen Museum*, by Th. Panofka. 5. *Pompeianische Wandgemälde*, by the Editor. 6. *Ueber das Theseion zu Athen*, by E. Curtius. 7. *Griechische Inschriften*, by L. Ross.

ATHENS.—In consequence of the financial embarrassments of the kingdom of Greece, the public expenditure has been reduced in various ways, and also by doing away with several offices. We are sorry to see, that L. Ross, and H. N. Ulrichs, two of the most distinguished professors in the University of Athens, are among those who have lost their appointments.—The sepulchral monument of K. O. Müller, consisting of a lofty pillar of Pentelic marble, with an inscription by Philippos Joannu, has now been finished for the last few months. It stands on the hill of Colonus, and is surrounded by newly planted trees. The expences of the monument have been defrayed by contributions from the members of the University of Athens.

ABEKEN WILHELM.—This distinguished archaeologist, a native of Osnabrück in Westphalia, died at Munich on the 28th of January, 1843, at the early age of twenty-nine. He was one of the secretaries of the Archaeological Institute at Rome, whither he had gone after the completion of his studies at Berlin, in 1836. While in Italy, he devoted himself with unremitting zeal to the study of ancient art, mythology, history and topography, and his extensive knowledge and great talent made him soon feel himself at home in the illustrious circle of artists, antiquaries and scholars assembled at Rome. After the publication of several essays and papers in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Institute*, he resolved to publish the results of his labours in a systematic work on the *History and Antiquities of Middle Italy*, previous to the dominion of the Romans. In the spring of 1842 Abeken had made sufficient progress in his undertaking to return to Germany, and begin printing his work. But when the MS. was finished, and the printing commenced, his career was cut short by his untimely death, partly in consequence of his great mental exertions, and partly of the change of climate. His work however, has just appeared at Stuttgart and Tübingen under the title, *Mittelitalien von den Zeiten Römischer Herrschaft, nach seinen Denkmälern dargestellt*. 1 vol. 8vo; the care of seeing it through the press having been undertaken by his friend Sulpiz Boisseree. Abeken was one of the most promising and indefatigable investigators of antiquity, and his death is to be lamented as a severe loss to the cause of learning.

BERLIN ACADEMY.—The Transactions of the Berlin Academy for the year 1840, published in 1842, contain the following philological and historical memoirs. 1. Zumpt upon the state and increase of population in antiquity, p. 1—93, an elaborate paper, of which the first 17 pages relate to Greece, and the rest to Italy and the Roman Empire. In the former part of this dissertation, the author combats Mr. Clinton's conclusions, in the appendix to his second volume of the *Fasti Hellenici*, and maintains that the population of Greece was at its maximum during the Persian war, that it began from this period to decline in consequence of the frequent wars, the increase of luxury, and the prevalence of the practice of *παίδεραστία*; and that the desolation of Greece was quite independent of the effects of the Roman conquest. With regard to Italy, Mr. Zumpt in like manner thinks that the period of its greatest population is to be fixed before the Punic wars; and that the second Punic war was a turning point to Italy, as the Peloponnesian war was to Greece, with respect to the number of the people, (p. 23). 2. Hoffmann on the relation of the sovereign power to the political notions of its subjects. p. 93. 3. V. Raumer. Lord Bolingbroke and his philosophical, theological, and political works, p. 123. 4. The theogony of John Tzetzes,

published by Bekker from a MS. in the Bibliotheca Casanatensis belonging to a Dominican convent at Rome. It is inscribed Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ ποίημα τοῦ Τζέτζου αὐθωρὸν πάντη καὶ ἀμελέτητον διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν περιέχον πᾶσαν θεογονίαν ἐν βραχεὶ μετὰ προσθήκη καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίον ἀρίστων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Τρῶων. This extemporaneous poem in political verses consists of 777 lines. At the end of the poem Tzetzes boasts that he adapts himself to all sorts of readers, and to persons of all nations :

παντὶ προσφόρως γράφω,
σοφοῖς μὲν ἅπασι σοφὰ, σαφῇ δὲ τοῖς ἀσόφοις,
καὶ τοῖς βαναύσοις βάνανσα, καὶ πᾶσι κατ' ἀξίαν.
καὶ Σκύθην Σκύθαις εὖροις με, Λατῖνον τοῖς Λατίνοις,
καὶ πᾶσιν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς ἓνα γένους τούτων. v. 763—7.

He then proceeds to set forth the salutations which he addresses, in their several tongues, to a Scythian, a Persian, and a Roman; the last of which is as follows :

τῷ δὲ Λατίνῳ προσφωνῶ κατὰ Λατίνων γλῶσσαν
(καλῶς ἦλθες, αὐθέντα μου· καλῶς ἦλθες, ἀδελφίῳ)
βένε βενέστι, δόμνε· βένε βενέστι, φράτερ.
κόμοδο, φράτερ, βενέστι ἵν ἴσταν τζιβιτάτεμ ;

From the last word it appears that in the 12th century the Latin C had lost its original sound of K before I (as *Kikérων* = Cicero,) and was pronounced like *ts* : a sound approaching to its pronunciation in modern Italian. 5. Bopp on the affinity of the Malay-Polynesian with the Indo-European languages, p. 171, and on the agreement of the pronouns of the Malay-Polynesian and Indo-European languages, p. 247. 7. Panofka, on the influence of the (Greek) deities on names of places, p. 333. 8. Gerhard on the twelve deities of Greece, p. 383.

ANTICHITA DELLA SICILIA.—The fifth volume of this great and important work, edited by Dominico lo Faso Pietrasanta, Duca di Serradifalco, appeared a few months ago, and completes the work.

ROME.—M. C. G. Cobet of Leiden has made some of the most happy discoveries in the MSS. of the Vatican library, for amending the texts of Simplicius, Diogenes Laertius and Dion Cassius. His collection of unedited scholia on *Euripides*, and of numerous fragments of ancient writers, whose works were hitherto believed to be entirely lost, will create, it is said, a great sensation among scholars.

DORPAT.—The University of this place has lately been the scene of great agitation, in consequence of the rigour with which the Russian government has enforced the law of the country against some

of the professors. Prof. Ulmann after having been rector of the University for some years, resigned this post in 1841, on account of ill health. The students who entertained great esteem for their teacher, resolved to present him with a silver goblet. The curators of the University dissuaded them from doing it, because according to the Russian law no officer was allowed to accept any present from his inferiors, without the express sanction of the government. The students however were not deterred by this, and presented the goblet to Ulmann who accepted it. Prof. Bunge of the faculty of law who was requested to give his opinion as to the legality of the proceeding, justified the conduct both of the students and of Prof. Ulmann. Other professors too declared in their favour. In consequence of this an imperial edict was issued, by which Prof. Ulmann was deprived of his chair, and exiled from Dorpat; Prof. Bunge was removed to Kasan, and Prof. Volckmann, at the time rector of the University, was deposed. Some other professors, dissatisfied with these measures of the government, resigned their offices. Prof. Preller has for the same reason lately resigned his place and returned to Germany. The programs of the University for the last few years contain very valuable dissertations by Preller. The program for the first half of the year 1842, is particularly interesting for its dissertation on the Peripatetic Praxiphanes, in which he points out the great importance of this philosopher as a grammarian, and his influence upon the grammatical school of Alexandria. Prof. Preller has also collected and illustrated the few extant extracts of Praxiphanes.

HEIDELBERG.—During the last winter the number of Students in this University amounted to 623, whereas in the winter previous there had been no more than 572. The University has sustained a great loss through the death of Prof. Zachariae, who is known to scholars by his work on the life and political reforms of Sulla. The appointment of Dr. L. Spengel to a Professorship is, however, some compensation to the University. On entering upon his new office, he published an elaborate and ingenious dissertation, “*De Aristotelis libro decimo historiae animalium et incerto auctore libri περὶ κόσμου.*” Heidelberg, 1842, 4to. He endeavours to show, that the substance of this book may very well have formed a part of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. The numerous barbarisms which occur in it, are explained by an ingenious conjecture respecting the origin of our Greek text. The original Greek was (according to Spengel) lost in the middle ages; and in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, it was restored by some one who translated the Latin version back into Greek. His opinion concerning the work περὶ κόσμου, commonly ascribed to Aristotle, is that it is altogether unworthy of the great philosopher both in form and substance. He maintains that it is impossible to discover its real author,

and refutes the opinion of A. Stahr (*Aristot. bei den Römern.* p. 163, &c.), who considers it to be a translation of a work of Apuleius on the same subject; that of Osann (*Beiträge Zur Griech. u. Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, i. p. 141 foll.), who attributes the work to Chrysippus; and of Julius Ideler (*Ad Aristot. Meteorolog.* Vol. II. p. 286), who ascribes it to Posidonius. The opinions of Spengel are supported by strong arguments, and are developed with great acuteness and sagacity.

MARBURG.—During the last winter the number of students in this University was 271. The place of K. F. Hermann, who has succeeded K. O. Müller, at Göttingen, was supplied in 1842 by Th. Bergk of the Gymnasium of Cassel, the editor of *Anacreon*, the *Poetæ lyrici Græci*, and joint editor of the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*. The program of the lectures for the summer-season 1843, contains a dissertation by Professor Bergk, on the poet Cornificius and his grammatical studies, especially his work *De etymis deorum*. The author endeavours to show, that Cornificius was ridiculed by Virgil and Valgius under the name of Codrus. Weichert, on the other hand, thinks that this Codrus is the same as the Jarbitas mentioned by Horace (Epist. i. 19, 5), whom Bergk considers to be Juba, king of Numidia.

XXIII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium lusus canori. Collegit atque edidit Henricus Drury. Editio altera. London, 1843. 8vo.

Demosthenes, Select private Orations. After the text of Dindorf; with the various readings of Reiske and Bekker. With English Notes for the use of schools. By Ch. T. Penrose. Cambridge, 1843. 8vo.

Dindorf, W., Metra Æschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis et Aristophanis. Accedit Chronologia Scenica. Oxford, 1842. 8vo.

Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicæ Præparationis, libri xv. Ad codd. manuscriptos recensuit Thomas Gaisford. Accedunt Francisci Vigeri Versio Latina et Notæ, et L. C. Valckenaerii Diatribe de Aristobulo. Oxford, 1843. 4 vols. 8vo.

Eusebii Pamphili, Episcopi Cæsariensis, Eclogæ Prophetiæ. E codice manuscripto Biblioth. Cæsareæ Vindobonensis nunc primum edidit Thomas Gaisford. Oxford, 1843. 8vo.

A Greek-English Lexicon, based on the German work of Francis Passow. By Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. Oxford. 1 vol. 4to.

A Greek Lexicon, chiefly for the use of schools. Abridged from the Greek-English Lexicon of H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. Oxford, 1843. 12mo.

Yates, J., *Textrinum Antiquorum: An account of the art of Weaving among the ancients. Part I. On the raw materials used for weaving.* London, 1843. 8vo.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

Abeken W. *Mittel-Italien vor den Zeiten der röm. Herrschaft, nach seinen Denkmälern dargestellt.* 8vo. Stuttg.

Ahrens H. L. *de Græcæ linguæ dialectis.* 2 vols. 8vo. Götting.

Anecdota Delphica. Edidit Ernestus Curtius. Acced. *Tabulæ II. Delphicæ.* Berlin. 4to.

Antike Marmorwerke, zum ersten Male bekannt gemacht, von Emil Braun. I^o u. II^o Decade. folio. Leipzig.

Bartsch, H. *de Chæremone poeta tragico.* 4to. Mogunt.

Böcking, Dr. E., *Institutionen. Ein Lehrbuch des Römischen Privatrechts, &c. nebst Einleitung in das Studium des Röm. Rechts.* Vol. I. Bonn. 8vo.

Böhnecke. K. G. *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Attischen Redner u. der Geschichte ihrer Zeit.* I^o Band I^o u. II^o Abthlg. 8vo. Berlin.

Chrestomathia Latina in usum auditorum philosophiæ anni I. et II. Ed. emend. et correct. 8vo. Vindobon.

Democriti Abderitæ operum fragmenta, colleg. recens. vert. explic. ac de philos. vita, scriptis et placitis comment. est F. G. A. Mullach. 8vo. Berlin.

Döderlein, Dr. L. *Reden u. Aufsätze. Ein Beitrag zur Gymnasialpädagogik u. Philologie.* 8vo. Erlangen.

————— *Aristologie für den Vortrag der Poetik u. Rhetorik.* 4to. Erlang.

————— *Minutiæ Sophocleæ.* 4to. Erlang.

Gellii, Auli, *quæ ad jus pertinent. Recognov. commentarioque critico instruxit.* D. J. de Gloeden. Series I. tres priores libros Gellii complexa. 8vo. Rostockii.

Gerhard, E. *Phrixos der Herold. Programm zum Winkelmann's Fest.* 4to. plate. Berlin.

Gräfenhan, Dr. A. *Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie im Alterthum vol. I.* royal 8vo. Bonn.

Gregorii Bar Hebræi, qui et Abulpharag, *Grammatica linguæ Syriacæ in metro Ephraëmo. Textum e cod. bibl. Gottingensis edid. vertit. annot. instr.* E. Bertheau, Dr. 8vo. Gotting.

Hamaker, H. G. *Quæstiones de nonnullis Lysiæ Orationibus.* 8vo. Lugd. Batav.

Horatius Flaccus, des, *Satiren, erklärt von L. F. Heindorf. Neu bearbeitet von E. F. Wüstemann. Mit einer Abhandlung von C. G. Zumpt: Ueber das Leben des Horaz u. die Zeitfolge seiner Gedichte, namentlich der Satiren.* 8vo. Leipz.

- Hermann, C. F. *Lectiones Persianæ*. 4to. Marburg.
- Keller, E. L. *Semestrium ad M. Tullium Ciceronem. Libri IV.*
Liber. II. royal 8vo. Turici.
- Klussman, E. Cn. Naevii, poetæ Romani, vitam descripsit, carminum reliquias collegit et poesis rationem exposuit. 8vo. Jena.
- Krebs, Dr. J. P. *Antibarbarus der lateinischen Sprache, nebst Vorbemerkungen über reine Latinität*. 3te. verm. Aufl. 8vo. Frankf.
- Kühner, Dr. R. *Schulgrammatik der griechischen Sprache* 2te. verb. u. verm. Aufl. 8vo. Hannov.
- Lauer, J. F. *Quæstiones Homericæ. Quest. I. de undecimi Odysseæ libri forma germana et patria*. 8vo. Berlin.
- Lucas, K. W. *Formenlehre des ionischen Dialektes im Homer*. 2te. verb. Aufl. 12mo. Bonn.
- Octavia prætexta. Curiatio Materno vindicatam ad libr. antiq. recogn. brev. adnot. instr.* ed. Fr. Ritter. 8vo. Bonn.
- Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoseon libri XV*. Recensuit, varias scripturas omnium codicum adhuc collatorum et vetustissimarum editionum apposuit, commentariis instruxit præf. est et indic. adj. Dr. V. Loe's. 8vo. Lips.
- Panofka, Th. *Bilder antiken Lebens. drittes Heft*. 4to. Berlin.
- Passow, Fr. *Vermischte Schriften. Herausgegeben von W. A. Passow*. Leipzig. 8vo.
- Persii Flacci *Satirarum liber*. Cum scholiis antiquis edidit Otto Jahn. 8vo. Lips.
- Ptolemæi *Geographia* ed. Nobbe. Tom. I. Ed. Ster. Lips.
- Rauchenstein, R. *Zur Einleitung in Pindar's Siegeslieder*. 8vo. Aarau.
- Ruperti, G. F. F. *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer. II^r Theil*. 2te. Abth. 8vo. Hannover. (*Complete*. 2 vols.)
- Scholorum Theocriteorum *pars inedita, quam ad codicis Genevensis fid. edidit J. Adert*. Turici.
- Sophocles, des, *Antigone, griech. u. deutsch, herausgeg. von A. Boeckh. Nebst 2 Abhndlg. über diese Tragödie im Ganzen u. über einzelne Stellen*. 8vo. Berlin.
- Terentii Afri, P. *Comœdiæ VI. recens. C. G. Reinhold. Pars I. Eunuchus. II. Tomi*. 8vo. Pasewalch.
- Wachsmuth, W. *Hellenische Alterthumskunde*, 2te. Auflage. Heft 1 to 5. 8vo. Halle.
- Weichert, A. *lectionum Venusinarum libellus*. 8vo. Grimm.
- Archæologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland, nach C. O. Müller's Papieren herausg. von A. Schöll. Vol. I. Athen's Antikensammlungen. Part I. 4to, and Atlas in folio.*

THE
CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XXIV.

ON THE CHORUS OF THE EUMENIDES.

OF all the plays of Æschylus that remain to us, none surpasses the Eumenides in respect of the gloomy grandeur of its conceptions. Between two and three thousand years have elapsed since they were embodied; yet notwithstanding the changes in manners, and more particularly in religion, which those centuries have brought in their train, it is still scarcely possible to peruse the songs of the *σενναὶ θεαὶ* without some feeling of supernatural awe. What, then, must have been their effect upon an audience that regarded those dread goddesses as the most awful and mysterious in their mythology, and the part they acted in the drama as representing, not only the occasion and manner of their reception among the deities of Athens, but also the solemn erection and first judicial act of the purest and most sacred of Attic tribunals, the time-honoured Areopagus? In this respect the Furies of Æschylus possessed an advantage over Shakespeare's witches, as to their hold upon the spectator's mind. The latter belonged, indeed, to the popular superstitions of the time, and were even recognized by the statutes; yet they formed no part of the religion of the state, nor were they identified with any of its institutions. Even the vulgar belief in them was of a mixed nature, half jest, half earnest. He who shuddered at the thoughts of them whilst crossing a barren heath or tangled wood at night, could muster courage enough to ridicule them in the open face of day. The weird sisters, at once terrible and grotesque, represent exactly this motley feeling. But the Furies, yet unappeased, were environed with an unmixed horror. Notwithstanding this difference, however, there are several points of resemblance between the witches of Macbeth and the Furies of the Athenian tragedy. Their number is the same; they are both invested with power over human

destinies; and even their songs run frequently in the same metre, the Trochaic dimeter catalectic.

— ◡ — ◡ | — ◡ —
When the hurly burly's done
When the battle's lost and won—

Round about the cauldron go,
In the poison'd entrails throw, &c.¹—

Not that these resemblances should be considered as more than accidental, since it is scarcely possible that Shakespeare was acquainted with Æschylus; whose writings were probably little studied even by Milton, the most learned of our poets, with the exception, perhaps, of Ben Jonson. The circumstances of the time, too, in which the play of the Eumenides was produced, must have thrown an additional interest over the scene of the Areopagus, in which the terrible goddesses are represented as pleading their cause. The foundations of that venerable court were trembling under the assaults of the demagogues, and threatened to overwhelm the laws and liberties of Athens in their fall. All these circumstances must have come home to every Attic bosom, and when we reflect that they were here set forth and heightened with all the charms of poetry and music, and all the means and appliances of theatrical effect, it is easy to believe that the performance occasioned some extraordinary sensation, such as tradition vaguely intimates. This tells us of platforms sinking under the weight of spectators—of the deaths of children and premature deliverance of women caused by the horror of the scene, where fifty furies shook their brands—of the banishment of the magician-poet who had conjured up these visions, either for overstepping the legitimate bounds of terror, or for revealing some awful and mysterious secret with which only the initiated ear was worthy to be trusted. Stories, indeed, which have in a great measure crumbled away at the touch of modern criticism, and whose very diversity argues their improbability; yet from which, as in all similar cases, we may safely infer the existence of some seeds of truth to which they owe their origin.

Of these stories, as none has been the subject of more critical discussion, so none has come out from the process more reduced

¹ Compare *Eumenides* 507 seqq.

μηδέ τις κικλησκέτω
Ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος, &c., also 997 seqq. &c.

in its dimensions than that which relates to the number of the Furies. In the admitted impossibility of ascertaining, incontrovertibly, the number of which a tragic chorus might be composed, critics have indulged themselves in a great latitude of opinion respecting that of the Eumenides. The notions most generally entertained at present are two. Of these the more liberal one, and which is held almost universally by German scholars, whether of the æsthetic or philological school, assigns fifteen performers to the chorus. The other, which is more prevalent in England, limits them to the scanty complement of three. It is the purpose of the following pages to examine these opinions, and to inquire which is better supported by the internal evidence of the play.

First of all, however, it may be proper to advert for a moment to a theory of M. Boeckh², in which he attributes a chorus of fifty to an earlier edition of the *Eumenides*. He thinks it was this which produced the alarming effects above alluded to; and that the later edition, in which the chorus consists of fifteen, was prepared by the poet during a residence in Sicily, and performed whilst he was absent there. Boeckh, who would seem to belong to that class of reasoners who rely upon the multitude rather than on the clearness and consistency of their arguments, adopts *all* the above-mentioned stories without the least inquiry or discrimination. Thus the author of the *Life of Æschylus* is cited for the deaths of the children and the mishaps of the women; Pollux, for the terror inspired by the *number* of the Furies and the consequent reduction of the chorus by a legislative enactment³; Suidas, for the falling of the platforms; and Ælian, for the accusation of impiety brought against the poet on the occasion of this play. Here are reasons plentiful enough. Could a drama which contained all these atrocities, and caused all these misfortunes, have succeeded? Impossible! But as the *Didascalizæ* assure us that Æschylus gained the tragic prize with the *Oresteia*, *Olymp.* 80. 2, it follows that the play which failed must have been an earlier edition, though nobody ever heard of its existence. This being so established, he proceeds to settle the date of this first edition. Now

² In his book *de Tragicis Græcis*, cap. 4, p. 35, (Heidelberg 1808.)

³ τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ὁ τραγικὸς χορὸς πενήκοντα ἦσαν ἄχρι τῶν Εὐμενίδων Αἰσχύλου, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὄχλον αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκπτοηθέντων, συνέσταλεν ὁ

νόμος εἰς ἐλάττω ἀριθμὸν τὸν χορῶν. iv. 15. A silly story; because, if the number had *hitherto* been fifty, it was not that, but some other circumstance which frightened the people, and which should have been the object of the law.

we are told by the author of the life, and by Plutarch in Cimon, that Æschylus retired into Sicily on the disgust he experienced at having the prize snatched from him by the rising genius of Sophocles, *Olymp.* 77. 4. Could a more convenient epoch offer for the date of the condemned play? It is accordingly pitched upon; and thus, with M. Boeckh's accustomed liberality, we are supplied with two reasons for the poet's exile; namely, a *compulsory* one, in the offence he had given his audience—for which, again, it has been seen, two or three causes are assigned; and a *voluntary* one, in the annoyance he felt at the success of Sophocles. A reason, by the way, which is opposed to the good fellowship represented by Aristophanes as subsisting between that poet and Æschylus. (*Frogs*, v. 787 seqq.)

All that remains to complete Boeckh's hypothesis is, to determine which edition we possess. The Agamemnon, the first play of the Orestean trilogy, has a chorus of only fifteen, and consequently a like number must be assigned to the existing Eumenides; which must, therefore, have been written after the promulgation of the law respecting the number of the chorus. Here, then, is a dilemma. Either plays had begun to have a smaller chorus than fifty before the representation of the Eumenides, which was produced on the same day with the Agamemnon; or the latter play must have been altered as well as the former. Boeckh supposes that his readers will adopt the latter alternative; but objects to it on account of a passage in the *Poetic*, which describes Æschylus, in a way that hardly denotes compulsion, as having diminished the chorus before the passing of the law⁴. He concludes, therefore, that Æschylus occasionally made use of a smaller chorus before that event, and only adopted the number of fifty when it was required by the subject, and for the sake of producing effect⁵. In this way, then, nothing can be decided; and he therefore tries another. Böttiger has shewn that in the existing Eumenides the Furies had no torches. But does the reader suppose they had none when they so frightened the spectators?—And then we have allusions to the Argive league which took place *Olymp.* 79 $\frac{3}{4}$; and the attack of Ephialtes on the Areopagus *Olymp.* 80. 1; and lastly, three actors; which having been intro-

⁴ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡλάττωσεν. It is hardly necessary to point out Boeckh's misconception of this passage, in taking it of the *number* of the chorus, instead of

the *length* of its songs.

⁵ This supposition is opposed to the words of Follux, which represent the practice as *constant*.

duced by Sophocles, who first began to exhibit *Olymp.* 77. 4, it follows that the present *Eumenides* must have been written subsequently to these events, as well as the *Choephoræ*, which is so intimately connected with it. And hence he concludes that we possess the last edition.

It would exceed both the limits and purpose of the present article to enter into a formal refutation of the foregoing theory. This, too, has been undertaken by Hermann in his second Dissertation on the Chorus of the *Eumenides*, (*Opuscula*, Vol. II.), when, stepping with the ponderosity of a champion armed at all points into the light phaselus which Boeckh had launched thus on a voyage of discovery, he succeeded in springing many a leak, like *Æneas* entering the flimsy boat of Charon:

——— *Gemuit sub pondere cymba*
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.

It must suffice, therefore, to allege the following objections. First, allowing all the tales adduced by Boeckh to be correct, the inference he draws is far from a necessary *sequitur*. One of them—that of the falling of the platforms—respects the carpenter and not the poet. There is nothing in the others that would have had a sinister influence on the judgment of the *dramatic umpires*, but rather the reverse; and *Æschylus* might very well have gained the tragic prize and yet have had an indictment laid against him afterwards; nay, in the jealousies which ran so high at Athens, his victory might even have been the cause of it. Secondly, as regards the supposition that *Æschylus* was absent in Sicily when he gained the prize with his assumed second edition, this could hardly have been the case; because the older dramatic authors, and *Æschylus* especially, not only wrote their plays but also instructed the performers⁶; and because the prize was not awarded to the tragic poet, as such, but as *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, or teacher of the chorus, an office which of course required his presence. Thirdly, it is the height of improbability to suppose that *Æschylus* would have cared or ventured to reproduce a play from which it is asserted that he experienced such disagreeable consequences. It is said, indeed, that he took care to mix plenty of water with his wine, and to make his drama as little terrible as possible. How? By a sort of Rule of Three sum, by which the amount

⁶ Whence the phrase *τραγῳδίαν διδάσκειν*.

of terror the Furies were capable of inspiring was nicely calculated in proportion to their number—if fifty Furies produce unbearable terror, how much will fifteen occasion?—And then, too he extinguished their torches!—Such a course is at variance, not only with the ordinary motives of human action, but is incompatible with the instincts of genius.

— Neque amissos colores

Lana refert medicata fuco;

Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,

Curat reponi deterioribus—

Fourthly: the supposition that a chorus of fifty was employed in the earlier plays of Æschylus, rests upon the unsupported authority of Pollux. It is far more probable that Sophocles, as we are told by the author of his life, and by Suidas, first raised the number of the chorus from twelve to fifteen, as he also increased the actors from two to three; circumstances which will more readily account for his triumph, on some occasion, over Æschylus, than the unsupported conjecture of Boeckh. Taking leave, therefore, of his hypothesis, let us apply ourselves to the investigation of the critical puzzle contained in the two other theories respecting the number of this chorus.

On the one hand, then, it is notorious that only three Furies were recognized in the ordinary mythology of Athens; whilst on the other, this would seem but a scanty complement to sustain the duties of the orchestra. The Bishop of London, in his preface to the *Persæ*, leads the van of those critics who have decided for three: his arguments being founded partly on the supposition that Æschylus would not have dared to violate the popular superstition by augmenting their number; and partly on the internal evidence afforded by the play. It is in the latter way that the subject is here proposed to be investigated.

The first passage calculated to throw any light upon the question occurs at v. 49, where the Pythoness, alarmed at having discovered the Furies asleep in the temple of Apollo, is doubtful whether to compare them to the Gorgons or the Harpies. Hence Dr. Blomfield infers that they must have been three, such being the number of both those monstrous races with which they are compared. This argument, however inconclusive in itself, is, at all events, *primâ facie* a probable one; and gains a wonderful accession of strength when shewn to be one link in a chain

of circumstances all tending to establish the same result. As an isolated proof it may be refused; and this Hermann has done in his Dissertation on this chorus, (*Opusc.* Vol. II. p. 126); and it must be admitted to be *just possible* that the Pythoness was alluding only to some resemblance in the external appearance of those dreadful beings, without any reference to their triad. Yet Hermann himself seems to have used this very argument on another occasion in order to arrive at their number. In the Dissertation just alluded to (p. 127), he cites the following line of the Choephoræ,

ἀναξ Ἀπολλων αἶδε πληθύουσιν δέ—(v. 1055.)

to shew that Orestes imagines he sees more than three Furies on that occasion⁷. Now from what circumstance is such a conclusion deduced? From the word *πληθύουσιν*? But the Greeks counted one, two, and many; and *πληθύειν* may as certainly be used of three as of any greater number. And that this could not have been his argument, may be gathered from a passage in his review of Müller's *Eumenides*; where, with his usual versatility, forgetting or throwing overboard what he had said in his Dissertation, he asserts, (for the purpose of confuting Müller's theory, that a chorus of fifty was portioned out to the different plays of a tetralogy, and that those not actually engaged as chorus in the play that was performing, sometimes appeared in it as servants, escorts, &c.) that even if these supernumeraries did actually shew themselves as the Furies in the Choephoræ—still they would not have constituted a chorus, as *three* or *four* would have answered the purpose⁸. The argument, then, in the passage of the Dissertation, cannot have been drawn from the meaning of *πληθύειν*. The only other discoverable circumstance on which it could have been founded, is, that nine lines before the one above cited from the Choephoræ, Orestes had made the very same comparison of the Furies with the Gorgons, as the Pythoness; (*αἶδε Γοργόνων δίκην*, v. 1046), and consequently, if they appeared equal in number to the Gorgons when he first beheld them, there must have been *more than three* when he applies the term *πληθύουσιν* to them. This reasoning would

⁷ "Quæ verba quum apertum sit de pluribus quam de tribus dici."

⁸ "Betrachtet man nun den ganzen von Herrn Müller geführten Beweis für das wirkliche Erscheinen der Furien—ein Chor würde das immer noch nicht

seyen da auch *Drey* oder *Vier* genug gewesen wären—in den Choephoren, so besteht er in einem durch misgedeutete Stellen erfolglos unterstützten Machtsprüche." *Opusc.* Vol. VI. part 2. p. 134.

be sufficiently satisfactory; but if it be applicable in the Choephoræ, why not also in the Eumenides? It may be further observed, that this passage in the "Review" completely contradicts the argument founded on the above line of the Choephoræ which Hermann had advanced in the "Dissertation," in support of a larger chorus than three in the Eumenides. Not to urge, that as he held the Furies seen by Orestes in the former play to have been nothing but the phantoms of his disordered brain, invisible to the chorus and audience, he was not entitled to draw any inference thence as to the number which actually and bodily appeared in the Eumenides.

The next passage that affords any evidence on the subject is that where the Furies are awakened by Clytemnæstra's ghost. The very first intelligible words which they utter bear very strong testimony to their number being three—"Arouse our sister there, as I awaken thee"—(ἐγείρ' ἔγειρε καὶ σὺ τήνδ' ἐγὼ δὲ σέ, v. 140). On this Hermann remarks (p. 126), "*concedam etiam de tribus accipi posse*"—a concession scarcely necessary; and it would have been more to the purpose to have shewn how the words could *possibly* have been applied to more than three. Another passage further on (v. 255), where the dual *λεύσσειον* occurs, addressed by one of the Furies to her sisters, need not be insisted on; since it is not only capable of Wellauer's interpretation, that it might have been addressed by the Fury who entered third, to the two who had preceded her, although she herself was followed by others, but has likewise been very probably emended by Hermann, after Wakefield, into *λεύσσετέ πάντα* (*Opusc.* Vol. vi. p. 48)—a great improvement on his former barbarous reading of *λεύσσε τὸν πάντα*.

The main battle-field, however, on which the question must be decided, is the first choral ode. This is usually divided into three strophes and antistrophes, as in Wellauer's edition. Yet both Hermann and Müller agree in distributing it amongst fifteen choreutæ; though, characteristically enough, they differ very widely and very warmly as to the manner of the distribution. Hermann employs eight of the fourteen choreutæ (remaining after the Coryphæus has delivered the three opening trimeters) in the first strophe and antistrophe, whilst Müller assigns the same verses to six. The middle strophes, according to Hermann's arrangement, are sung by four, and the concluding ones by two choreutæ; thus forming a descending series in what is called geometrical proportion—8, 4, 2. Müller, who has got eight

singers still to provide for, and who is justly of opinion that the sense will not admit of a division in the second antistrophe, is compelled to assume that each of the four remaining strophes and antistrophes is sung by two Furies *in unison*, and thus succeeds in making up his number!—It is obvious that by such a method—which instead of proving the theory by the text, tortures the text into conformity with the theory—the ode might be divided amongst any imaginable number of voices.

It will be unnecessary to point out, what must have already struck every reader at all conversant with theatrical effect, how weak and tame would have been the impression produced by the Furies entering, after the first burst, at longer intervals, and in continually decreasing numbers. A process the very reverse of this would, one would imagine, have been better calculated to inspire the panic terror which has been so frequently ascribed to this most tragic chorus. But other and still more absurd results may be deduced from a general view of the economy of the scene according to Hermann's arrangement of it, which is still, in some respects, more probable than Müller's.

The origin of these absurdities may be traced to his departure from the authority of the scholiast, who tells us that the scene is changed at v. 64, from the exterior to the interior of Apollo's temple⁹. Scholiasts, indeed, are a class of persons whom Hermann is commonly disposed to treat with sufficient contempt, except their testimony happen to confirm his own arguments. But, though an implicit deference is not always to be accorded to them, the following considerations may, perhaps, induce readers to think that he would have acted more judiciously in the present instance, had he adopted the views of the one just alluded to.

First, then, in conformity with his notion that the temple remains closed, he is forced to assume that Apollo is polite and condescending enough to leave his shrine, and, escorting Orestes over the threshold, to hand him over to the care of Hermes, who is supposed to be waiting outside the door, after the fashion of a *laquais-de-place*.¹⁰ Surely such a method of proceeding

⁹ Καὶ δευτέρα δὲ γίνεται φαντασία. Στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνδὸν λαοῖσι τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει.

¹⁰ "Vielmehr kömmt Orestes im Begriff seine Wanderung anzutreten aus

dem Tempel, geleitet von Apollo, der ihn belehrt was er zu thun habe, und dann dem Hermes übergiebt." *Opusc.* Vol. vi. part 2, p. 163.

would be hardly consistent with the dignity of either deity ; nor is it strictly reconcileable with a passage in Hermann's Dissertation "*de Compositione Tetralogiarum*" (*Opusc.* Vol. II. p. 311) where, speaking of the Eumenides, he says, "*agitur res in templis Deorum*"—the only other temple in the play being that of Minerva at Athens. But it suited the object of that Dissertation to make the Eumenides appear as splendid as possible. So, too, according to this theory, Clytemnæstra's ghost must have peeped in at the door and addressed the Furies from the outside—to say the least of it, an awkward way of proceeding, if not absolutely ludicrous. These points, however, are merely matters of taste. In certain passages of the text we find something more tough and stubborn. How, for instance, notwithstanding Hermann's broad assertion, shall we reconcile his view of the economy of the scene with v. 67, where Apollo points to the Furies, *δεκτικῶς*, as visibly present—*τάσδε τὰς μάργους ὄρῃς*? Or with the allusion of the Furies to the Omphalos at v. 166?—Or, finally, with v. 169—*ἔξω κελεύω τῶνδε δωματίων τάχος*?—where Hermann thinks there is nothing extraordinary in Apollo's standing at the door of his temple, and commanding the Furies to leave it, when, according to his arrangement, they had already quitted it, and had a long dance outside! To be sure, he has an alternative for tender stomachs which cannot digest this. One or two of the Furies, not engaged in singing, might have returned into the temple in search of Orestes, and these Apollo might have addressed¹¹. Unfortunately however for this hypothesis, not only has Orestes left it long before, but the pursuing goddesses are so painfully aware of this fact, that the lamenting of it forms the chief burden of their song. Not to mention that this command of Apollo is not uttered till their ode is concluded.

But the manner in which he distributes this first ode amongst the choreutæ presents us with absurdities no less formidable. On the vanishing of Clytemnæstra's ghost, it is supposed that the Coryphæus rushes unaccompanied from the temple to the orchestra, where, addressing the surrounding vacuity, or at best the audience, —for her sisters are still asleep in the interior—she exclaims,

¹¹ "Ja wer es denn so unmöglich fände, dass jemand zu denen, die noch vor dem Hause stehen, in Zorne sagte: geht aus meinem Hause und macht dass ihr fort kommt: der könnte ja, da nicht alle

Furien zugleich singen, eine oder die andere wieder in den Tempel hineingehen und den Orestes dort suchen lassen." *Opusc.* Vol. VI. p. 164.

"Awake this sister of ours, as I awaken thee—Dost thou sleep? &c."¹²—Matters are not mended by the appearance of the second Fury, who might be supposed to emerge from one of those *Bacchic temples*, erected of late years in the streets of our metropolis, rather than from the sanctuary of Apollo; as from her addressing her precursor in the *plural number* she must evidently *see double* (ιοὺ ἰοὺ πόπαξ, ἐπάθομεν, φίλαι). Such a unity too and connexion of ideas pervade every strophe as render it very difficult to believe that they were portioned out amongst various singers. Hermann himself seems to have been struck by this, and is evidently staggered by the oddness of the fact, that each succeeding Fury should speak so much in the strain of her predecessor: but whilst he admits the coherence of the sentiments he denies the connexion of the words¹³. It must be admitted, indeed, that the first strophe consists of abrupt and parenthetical reflexions. Such, especially, is that of the second line—*ἡ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγώ*. But must this have been therefore necessarily delivered by a second speaker? On the contrary the word *πολλὰ* referring to a long train of sorrows previously undergone, is natural enough in the mouth of one who reverts to them from the excitement of a fresh infliction, but would be wholly misplaced if uttered by one who had not previously adverted to the occasion which draws it forth. For the previous line had already included the entire sisterhood in the new misfortune. Such broken, interrupted expressions are highly characteristic of grief, and so the scholiast tells us; whose words, had they been rightly interpreted by Müller (*Eumeniden*, p. 84), would have led him to a directly opposite conclusion to that he has deduced from them; viz. that the strophe is to be divided amongst different singers; and Hermann so clearly saw this to be the case, that he dismisses the old commentator *sans façon*, as his manner is towards scholiasts whose testimony is inconvenient, though not without a passing word of commenda-

¹² "Jacebant sopitæ in interiore templi parte Furæ; audiuntur primo voces somniantium; inde una excitata lente progreditur ita loquens; ἔγειρ', ἔγειρε, &c. Prodit jam secunda concitator, &c. Eodemque modo deinceps prorumpunt omnes, singulæ aliquid dicentes: quindecim enim commata sunt." *Opusc.* v. p. 136.

¹³ "Has enim deinceps accedentes neque mirum est in pari indignatione omnes in eandem sententiam loqui et necessarium nexu talem orationem carere." *Opusc.* Vol. 11. p. 135-6. Had there been nothing surprising in the circumstance it would not have occurred to Hermann to deny it.

tion¹⁴. The scholium alluded to runs as follows: κομματικῶς ἕκαστον κατ' ἰδίαν προενεκτέον· αἱ γὰρ διακοπαὶ πρόσφοροι τοῖς πάθεσιν—that is, “each part is to be delivered commatically by one Fury; for broken phrases are suitable to grief.” Had the scholiast meant that each verse was to be sung by separate singers, he would have used the plural, not the singular, κατ' ἰδίαν; besides that it would be nonsense to say that interrupting *another* is characteristic of sorrow. But notwithstanding the abrupt form of expression which occurs in this first strophe, the unity of thought, which is wholly absorbed in contemplating the escape of the fugitive, is very striking. The same is the case with the second strophe, which is entirely devoted to expressing the pain occasioned by the apparition of Clytemnæstra; whilst the metaphors by which the idea of it is conveyed—the goad of the charioteer and the whip of the executioner—are so similar, nay, almost identical, that it is difficult to believe the author assigned them to two persons, the latter of whom, according to Hermann's hypothesis, rushes in just in time to complete the strophe without having heard the words of her predecessor. That critic, indeed, is of opinion that the beginning of a new speech is indicated by the word *πάρεστι*, which happens to be found both in the strophe and antistrophe¹⁵. The cogency of this reasoning it is difficult to see. Hermann's doctrine on the pointing of a strophe and antistrophe is indeed very strict; though an examination of Æschylus's choral odes will shew that they are not invariably pointed alike. But even if it be allowed that a *new sentence* begins at *πάρεστι*, it does not follow that it is to be assigned to a *second person*. Müller's arguments however, to shew that it cannot begin a new sentence in the antistrophe¹⁶ have not been satisfactorily answered by Hermann in his Review, (*Opusc.* Vol. VI. p. 38 seqq). Indeed his interpunction of the antistrophe he is obliged to support by an alteration of the text, reading after Wakefield, *θρόμβον* for *θρόνον*. A metrical reason is assigned for this; viz. that *φονολιβῆ θρόμβον* answers better to the corresponding verse of the strophe, *μεσολαβεῖ κέντρῳ*. But besides Müller's objection that such an accurate correspondence of syllables is not always observed in the thesis of Dochmiacs and Cretics, it may

¹⁴ “Hoc interprete etsi non contem-
nendo, facile carebimus.” *Opusc.* Vol.
II. p. 135.

¹⁵ “In dem zweyten Strophenpaare
weist das gleichmässig hervorgehobene

πάρεστι schon an sich selbst auf den An-
fang einer neuen Rede hin.” *Opusc.*
Vol. VI. p. 38.

¹⁶ Vide Müller's *Eumeniden*, *Anhang*,
p. 11 and 33.

be remarked that on this ground there would be more reason for altering the strophe than the antistrophe, inasmuch as $\overset{\vee}{\phi}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\lambda}\overset{\vee}{\iota}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\eta}$ $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\nu}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$ is a more perfect Dochmiac than $\overset{\vee}{\phi}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\lambda}\overset{\vee}{\iota}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\eta}$ $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\mu}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$. The sense, however, of $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\mu}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$, which Müller repudiates with more truth than politeness, it would perhaps be difficult to discover even after Hermann's explanation of it, which is here set down for the benefit of ingenious readers who understand German, a translation seeming impossible.—“Solches vollbringen die jungen Götter, die sich gegen alles Recht der Blutspur an Fuss und Haupt bemächtigen.” (*Opusc.* Vol. VI. p. 40.) As the explanation which Hermann, not without reason, subjoined to the foregoing is rather more intelligible, it is here set down in English—“That is, Who (*i. e.* the younger gods) arrogate to themselves the disposal of the murderer sprinkled from head to foot with blood.” The light, however, thus thrown upon the version is gained by shuffling and changing the terms; and with every allowance for the boldness of Æschylus's metaphors, $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\mu}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$ does seem an odd designation of a murderer, and a $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\mu}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$ ¹⁷ $\overset{\vee}{\phi}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\lambda}\overset{\vee}{\iota}\overset{\vee}{\beta}\overset{\vee}{\eta}$ $\overset{\vee}{\pi}\overset{\vee}{\epsilon}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\iota}$ $\overset{\vee}{\pi}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\delta}\overset{\vee}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\vee}{\pi}\overset{\vee}{\epsilon}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\iota}$ $\overset{\vee}{\kappa}\overset{\vee}{\acute{\alpha}}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\alpha}$, to say the least, a very harsh construction. It seems therefore better to retain the old reading $\overset{\vee}{\theta}\overset{\vee}{\rho}\overset{\vee}{\acute{o}}\overset{\vee}{\nu}\overset{\vee}{\omicron}\overset{\vee}{\nu}$, and to interpret it of the Omphalos with which it is put in apposition; thus retaining with Müller a unity in the sense of the antistrophe. And if this be right, then Hermann's assumption, that the corresponding strophe was sung by two different voices, falls to the ground. It is needless to establish the unity of thought pervading the third strophe, as Hermann virtually admits it by assigning it to a single singer.

The points, then, sought to be established by what has been said, are these: first, that each of the strophes of the first choral ode is sung by a single Fury; and second, that they are delivered inside the temple of Apollo, and consequently *on the stage*. What, then, shall we say of the antistrophes? This question must be answered by propounding a theory which seems to remove many of the difficulties connected both with the English and German notions respecting this chorus.

It must be owned that the German critics seem to have more reason on their side, in deciding that three choreutæ would be

¹⁷ The version given by Minckwitz, Hermann's *fidus Achates*, in his neat little edition of the *Eumenides*, seems hardly more satisfactory — “hoc perpe-

trant Dii juniores qui contra omne jus potiuntur sanguineo grumo, pedem caputque polluente.”

insufficient to form a tragic chorus. Reasoning from analogy and general practice, we should certainly be led to conclude that number insufficient. Moreover, we happen to possess the direct testimony of a scholiast with regard to this particular play, who, whatever might have been his critical acumen, probably had access to sources of information of which we are now deprived. On verse 585 (πολλὰ μὲν ἔσμεν λείζομεν δὲ συντόμως) he remarks, τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὰς τρεῖς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χορόν—ἡ γὰρ ἦσαν. (This does not regard the three but the chorus; for they were fifteen.) Here we have, first, a distinction between three Furies and the remainder of the chorus; secondly, a positive assertion that the chorus consisted of fifteen.

As Hermann, however, interprets this scholium somewhat differently, it will be necessary to advert for a moment to his version of it. According to him, the meaning of the scholiast is, that the words of Æschylus above quoted are not to be taken in accordance with the ancient tradition which made the Furies three in number, but, as regarding the poet's practice in this play, where, in spite of that tradition, he had constituted them into a chorus of fifteen¹⁸. But this is not the plain and obvious meaning of the words; and, moreover, it is hardly possible that the scholiast would have expressed himself so very laconically on so important an innovation—one which, according to Hermann, subjected the poet to a prosecution for impiety. But was the tradition itself so very clear and definite? Hermann's own arguments shew that it was not. In the preface to his two Dissertations (*Opusc.* Vol. II. p. 126), he infers from the expressions πατὴρ and μητὴρ Ἑρίνης, made use of by Homer, Hesiod, and others, that their number was regarded as indefinite, and proceeds to confirm his opinion by the following passage from this very play:—

ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσμεν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα
Ἄραί δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα—

on which he observes that the Ἄραί are in number infinite. For the same purpose he also cites the testimony of Euripides:

δοῖαι μὲν οὖν ἔζοντο πεισθεῖσαι δίκη
ψῆφον παρ' αὐτὴν ἱερὸν ὀρίσαντ' ἔχειν.
δοῖαι δ' Ἑρινύων οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν νόμῳ
δρῶμοις ἀνδρῶν τοισιν ἡλάστρουν μ' αἶψα—Iphig. Taur. 968.

¹⁸ "Hoc autem ille significat quum Furis multas se esse dicant non respici traditionem veterum quæ tres esse perhi- | bebantur sed chorum Furiarum qualem poeta introduxerit e xv Furis constantem." *Opusc.* Vol. II. p. 132.

It is rather puzzling, indeed, to reconcile this reasoning with his opinion that Æschylus was prosecuted for introducing more Furies than three. That, however, is entirely his own affair, and it will probably be thought that the above passage from Euripides is alone sufficient to prove that such could not have been the real cause of Æschylus' prosecution; since it is incredible that the son of the green-stall woman would have dared to assert in the face of assembled Athens, that there were more Furies than three, had Æschylus been previously tried and condemned for exceeding that number.

If, then, the tradition respecting the Furies—not, be it observed, the three Eumenides established at Athens, for at the passage to which the scholiast alludes that event had not yet taken place—was so uncertain, it seems highly improbable that he refers to it in the sense Hermann supposes. By the *τὰς τρεῖς* he appears to mean, three of the chorus distinguished from the rest by taking a more prominent part in the action; those, in short, who sing the three strophes of the first ode, and who, at the end of the play, are escorted to their subterraneous temple. It will, probably, be admitted that no violence is done to the scholiast's words by such an interpretation, and that there is nothing improbable in it is allowed by Hermann himself, who in his Dissertation says, "*Quare Æschylum credibile est quum Furias introduceret, tribus quæ proprie Furiae habebantur, comitatum adjunxisse aliarum, quæ, varia illarum munera obeuntes, sociæ illis et ministræ essent.*" (*Opusc.* Vol. II. p. 126.) Indeed the part they sustain in the play is very different from that of the ordinary chorus. They are not merely sympathizing spectators, but are very materially implicated in the plot. Even if we regard the catastrophe as completed by the acquittal of Orestes, still they have been very instrumental in bringing it about. But much remains to be done after that event, which almost sinks into insignificance when compared with what follows. Indeed the final appeasement and domiciling of the Furies at Athens, with which the play ends, seems to be the true catastrophe, and the story of Orestes adapted only for the sake of introducing it. There is no other play extant, in which any of the chorus take so important a part and belong so much to the *dramatis personæ*, unless it be the *Supplices*. But that was one of the earlier plays, whatever Boeckh may dream to the contrary; and the chorus had not yet lost its original importance. And even in that play the chorus does not once make its appearance on the

stage; which even Hermann allows to have been the case in the opening scene of the Eumenides.

There is much truth, however, in Hermann's observation, that the stage would not have been large enough for the dances and evolutions of fifteen *choreutæ*. Neither is there any occasion to assume that they were all assembled there. On the contrary, it is more probable to suppose that the three strophes of the first ode were sung by the three principal Furies on the stage, and responded to by the twelve in the orchestra. And such an arrangement seems to be sanctioned by the scholiast cited above, who tells us that the ode was delivered *κομματικῶς*; a *κόμμος* being an alternate lamentation between the persons on the stage and in the orchestra. That such *κόμμοι* were antistrophic is shewn by Hermann himself (*Poet.* 12. 9, p. 143, and *de Metris*); and we have an example of one in the preceding play of the Choephoræ. But had the Furies entered *σκοράδην*, singly, and in a wild, disordered manner, it is difficult to conceive how the ode could have taken the antistrophic form it has. Hermann urges this very objection against Müller's division of the second ode into strophes and antistrophes¹⁹, forgetting, apparently, how fatal it must prove to his own hypothesis respecting the first.

It will perhaps, then, be allowed that the above arrangement is not altogether fanciful and unfounded; and a further confirmation of it may be derived by examining the tenor and purport of the strophes and antistrophes. The former consist almost entirely of *personal* complaints, addressed as to sympathizing friends. Thus their language is generally couched in the first person—*ἐπάθομεν—παθούσα καὶ ἐγώ—ἄγραν ᾤλεσα*; or in a personal pronoun—*ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνειδος*. With the antistrophes the case is different. The first two are composed of merely general accusations against Apollo, expressed, indeed, in a way that manifests great sympathy, yet still not betraying any personal injury. There is a little difference in the third. We there find, indeed, a personal pronoun, but coupled with the conjunction *καὶ—καί μοι τε λυπρός*—"this Apollo is hateful to me *also*"—implying, that is, as well as to yourself who have just suffered from his misconduct. The whole tenor of that antistrophe, too, seems to convey a pledge

¹⁹ "Nicht überall sind Antistrophen am rechten Orte. In einem Gesange wie dieser, mit dem die Furien einzeln, *σκοράδην*, ohne geregelte Ordnung hereinkom-

men, würden Antistrophen der Sache ganz entgegen seyn. Darum ist hier nicht daran zu denken." *Opusc.* Vol. vi. p. 49.

that, even should Orestes escape the fangs of the three Furies principally interested in his pursuit, there are others prepared to pounce upon him even in hell itself; those other Furies, namely, to whom Euripides alludes in the above passage of the *Iphigenia*, are still pursuing their victim after the rest had been appeased.

The part at which the three principal Furies joined themselves to the remainder of the chorus was probably at the beginning of the ὕμνος δέσμιος v. 307 seqq. This seems to have been the first στάσιμον and the words ἀγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἀψώμεν appear to point out that a regular chorus was now for the first time in the course of formation. The choral strains, too, are here preceded by a system of anapæsts; a method of introducing his chorus generally adopted by Æschylus. They are used in four out of the six remaining plays besides the present one. And in one of the other two, the *Prometheus*, anapæsts are not used because the chorus of Oceanides make their first appearance in an aerial chariot. But no sooner do they, at the request of Prometheus, alight upon *terra firma* and proceed to take their station in the orchestra, than the anapæstic metre is adopted.

It now only remains to point out a few of the advantages resulting from the above arrangement. First, then, the dignity of tragedy is maintained by assigning a full complement to its chorus. Secondly, the difficulties encountered in two or three passages of the play which allude to *three* Furies, are obviated by the supposition that they refer to those three who take a principal part in the action. Thirdly, Müller's unauthorized notion that the πρόπομποι, who escort the Eumenides to their subterraneous dwelling, consisted of the unemployed members of a chorus of forty-eight or fifty which he supposes to have been assigned to the tragic poet, is rendered unnecessary; since the bulk of the chorus might have left the orchestra after the second στάσιμον, and again reappearing as the escort of the three principal Furies, have sung the closing ode.

THOMAS DYER.

P. S. The above paper had been written some months, and was already in type, when the writer of it had an opportunity of seeing Professor Scholefield's edition of the *Eumenides*, published about the middle of the current month. The writer was happy to find some part of his views respecting the constitution of the chorus confirmed by such authority. Hermann had, indeed, hinted that

there were three principal Furies to which the rest were subordinate; but seemed in some measure to repudiate that view by the manner in which he interpreted the Scholium cited in page 294—*τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τὰς τρεῖς ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χορὸν*;—the version of which given in the above paper coincides with that of Professor Scholefield. The last-named learned editor seems to agree with the German critics as to the manner in which the first choral ode was sung. But, besides the objections urged above, it is difficult to see how it could have been anti-strophic if the choreutæ entered the orchestra one after the other. With respect to the ode beginning at v. 876, the method which Professor Scholefield seems to adopt (Pref. p. ix.), namely, that it was sung by three only whilst the rest remained mute, would certainly have been awkward. On the other hand, the absurdity of assigning it to more than three appears insurmountable. The only way of obviating this (if a chorus of more than three be admitted) seems to be the one suggested in the preceding article: that is, by making the twelve subsidiary choreutæ leave the orchestra after the second stasimon ending at v. 535, and reappear as the *προπομποί*. That the chorus should leave the orchestra before the end of the play was sometimes allowed in the Greek theatre; and indeed they must have done so between the first and second odes of the present play.

T. D.

London, 31st Oct. 1843.

XXV.

A MEMOIR ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

PART II.

AFTER the death of Cyrus, the Greeks having on their side successfully resisted the enemy, followed them, on their retiring, to a village, where they halted, "for there was an eminence above the village, upon which the king's forces faced about" (ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ι. 10. § 12). This has been considered as affording evidence of the battle of Cunaxa having taken place north of the Median wall, as there are no hills strictly speaking on the plains of Babylonia. (Baillie Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, p. 186.) But the etymology of the word γήλοφος used by the historian to express the eminence in question, leaves no doubt that one of the earthen hills or mounds, so common throughout Babylonia and Chaldea, was meant. The king's troops having retreated from this eminence, the Greeks returned to their camp, which they found had been plundered during their absence. The night following this the Greeks marched under Clearchus to join Ariæus, who had retired the day of the battle, with the rest of the Barbarians, to the camp they had left the day before. For this march a retrograde distance of four parasangs or twelve geographical miles may be allowed. Sacrifices and a compact of friendship were made on this occasion, and Ariæus proposed to return by a different route. The next march was commenced by day-break, having the sun on the right, or marching northwards, and in the evening, after being alarmed by the appearance of sumpter-horses at pasture, they arrived at some villages. For this march, being from morning to evening, a distance of five parasangs or fifteen miles may be allowed. The next day an interview took place with the enemy, a truce was concluded, and guides were provided to lead the Greeks where there were provisions. The direction of the next march as guided by the Persians, or its relation to the sun, is not given; but it is stated that the army met with ditches and canals full of water, καὶ ἐνενύχχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλώσει πλήρεις ὕδατος, (ii. 3. § 10), so that they were not able to pass without bridges, which they made of palm-trees. There is every reason to believe,

from this statement, that the Greeks were led into the interior of Babylonia, and Clearchus appears justly to have suspected that the ditches had been filled with water purposely, as it was not the season for irrigating the land. Five parasangs or fifteen miles may also be allowed for the extent of this day's march. The Greeks stayed upwards of twenty days at these villages, when Tissaphernes having promised to conduct them, in friendship, out of the country, after three days' march, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας τείχος, καὶ παρήλθον αὐτοῦ εἰσω· ἦν δὲ φεκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὅπῃς ἐν ἀσφάλτῃ κειμένας, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μήκος δὲ ἐλέγγο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγών. (II. 4. § 12.) Xenophon appears to include here the length of the trench carried from the Royal River to the wall, in the length of the latter, for we learn from Strabo that this wall, which he calls the wall of Semiramis, had its origin in the neighbourhood of Opis, and if prolonged from thence in a south-westerly direction to the distance of 60 miles as given by Xenophon, it would have extended as far as to the banks of the *Nahr Melik*, or Royal River, and be as described ἀπέχε δὲ Βαβυλώως οὐ πολὺ; but Julian, who advanced into Babylonia from the same quarter as Cyrus, (only that, like Trajan and Severus, he crossed the country by the Royal River, after the capture of Perisabor;) notices the wall as being at the head of the plain, above where the canals were given off from the river, and somewhere near the site of the Macepracta of his historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Sipphara of Ptolemy. The traces of this wall under the name of *Khalû* or *Sidd Nimrud*¹, appear to have been first discovered in modern times by Mr. Ross, surgeon to the residency at Baghdad. It was afterwards visited by the officers of the Euphrates' expedition, and has since been more carefully examined by Captain Lynch and his party. The ruins indicate a construction similar to what is described by Xenophon. It is wide enough for two persons to ride abreast, and is still in many places 30 feet in height. It has not been traced beyond the ruins of Sipphara, now called *Sifîrah*. This indeed appears to be the position that would have been chosen for such a wall, extending from the Tigris above Opis, where the eastern bank of that river was defended by the city and the river Phycus, to near the point where, as Ptolemy and Ammianus describe it, the first great canal is cut from

¹ Wall or embankment of Nimrod, also according to Captain Lynch called *Motbakh*, and sometimes *Shistât*.

the Euphrates. In following such a direction it also marks the line of limitation of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, from where it is succeeded to the north by low, hilly, infertile, and rocky districts. Under all these circumstances, and after mature consideration on the spot, and subsequently at home, of the distances travelled over by the Greeks on the plain of Babylonia, after the engagement, of the wilful detention practised upon them, and their ultimate betrayal by their inimical hosts, the opinion has been forced upon me, that they were purposely misled here, as they also subsequently were in Armenia, and that the going through the Median wall at all, as well as the erroneous extent given to it by Xenophon, was only a part of the mystification practised upon himself, and the remainder of the Greeks. We are obliged to believe, from the necessities of the case, that Tissaphernes having arrived with his army and the guides, marched, as Xenophon expresses it, *ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀνθρώπων*, that he led the Greeks three days' march, or about 36 geographical miles, by Sifeirah, at which point he turned round, and conducted them through the wall into Sitacene, thus leaving them in perplexity with regard to the relations of that rich and fertile province to the city of Babylon. This view of the subject, as we shall afterwards see, is supported by the subsequent facts, and it clears up the difficulties presented by the distances given in the marches from Cunaxa to the wall, and from the wall to Sitace. Puzzled by such peculiarities in the movements of the Greeks, D'Anville, in a map sketched for Rollin's History, brought a second wall in a curve from the centre of the Median wall, and led it to the Euphrates near Babylon. Delisle also delineates a wall passing by 'Akêr Kûf (Accad) to the vicinity of Babylon—an unnecessary distance; for as we have previously seen, according to Xenophon, its extent was only 60 miles, which would not carry it beyond the Royal River, and supposing that this arrangement did exist in antiquity, and for which I can see no adequate reason, (for what ostensible purpose would a wall be constructed, traversing the plain of Babylonia lengthwise?) even then the Greeks must have been led about in a most irregular manner, previous to reaching the wall, and again on the other side, for they travelled from it to Sitace, 24 miles, Sitace being 60 miles from Opis, at the head of the same wall, which was itself only 60 miles in extent. Dr. Vincent, in his able work on the Commerce of the Ancients, at first supported the presumed existence of two walls, but in his Dissertation on Opis, in the Appendix to the same work, he allowed

that such an hypothesis could not be determined by an appeal to facts, and very properly declined supporting it from a mere spirit of system. The results derived from considering the whole of the marches in Babylonia, are, that the Greeks advanced from the wall of Media towards Babylon 68 geographical miles, and that they traversed, on their return to the same wall by a proximate calculation, 78 geographical miles, the excess being entailed by leaving the river to reach the first villages, and their next movement to the second villages with the Persian guides.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ* καὶ διέβησαν διόρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν, ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἑπτὰ (II. 4. § 13).

These canals are described as being "derived from the Tigris, and from them ditches were cut that ran into the country, at first broad, then narrower, and ending at last in small water-courses, such as are used in Greece to water panic." Xenophon by repeating the fact here, lends additional weight to his prior statement, that in his time the northerly part of the plain of Babylonia was watered from the Tigris. The system of canals and internal irrigation appears indeed to have been perpetually fluctuating, as in the time of the Khalifat we see *'Akbará* described as situated upon the Tigris, the ruins of which are now found upon the dry bed of a canal (*Shát Eidhá*) at some distance from that river; and as in modern times, to avert the inundations produced by the Euphrates, pouring its floods by the *Saklawyah* into the Tigris, the waters of the *Kór*², or marsh of *'Aker Kúf*, are carried away by the *Dáúdhiyéh* canal into that river below the city of Baghdad. There is no doubt that the waters of the Tigris could in the present day be carried, but for the *Saklawyah*, into the Euphrates, by a canal drawn in a south-westerly direction, across the northern parts of Babylonia, as they do naturally, by the *Shát el Hie*, in the southern parts, to the present day. The number of canals drawn from the Tigris, and flowing back to the parent-stream above Sitace, is still considerable, and comprises the *Nahr Dijéil*, "little Tigris," the *Shát Eidhá*, the *Isháki* and others. Beyond these canals the Greeks came to the river Tigris, πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυνάνθρωπος, ἥ ὄνομα Σιτάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίου πεντεκαίδεκα. The point at which the army would have approached the Tigris, so as to have been $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles from it, (24 to Sitace, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the Tigris), at the western extremity of the Median wall, would have been in a due easterly line, and have occurred at the modern *Sherf at-el-*

² *Kór* or *Kúr*, a marshy lake; *Khór* is a saline marsh or inlet of the sea.

Bēdha, "white river." The ruins at that place are very extensive, consisting of mounds and embankments, and the dry ditch of a canal, and extend northwards some miles, and westwards almost to the colossal ruin of 'Aker Kūf, from which, however, they are separated during a great part of the year by inundations from the Euphrates. The traces of a bridge on the Tigris opposite to this point are also distinctly visible, as I had an opportunity of assuring myself during an ascent of the river in the steamer *Euphrates*.

The Greeks encamped close to the town of Sitace, "near a large and beautiful park, covered with trees of every kind," and the Persians on the other side of the Tigris, but out of sight of the Greeks. "The next morning by break of day they passed the bridge, which was supported by 37 pontoons." The number of boats or pontoons by which the bridge at Baghdad is supported varies at different seasons; hence it is that Balbi counted 37, in 1579; Texiera 28, in 1605; Della Valle 29, in 1616; Thevenot 40, in 1664; Ives 39, in 1758; and Niebuhr 34, in 1766*.

From the Tigris the Greeks ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τέτταρας, παρά σάγγας εἰκοσι, ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλείθρου· ἐπὶν δὲ γέφυρα. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾤκειτο πόλις μεγάλη, ἣ ὄνομα Ὀπις (II. 4, § 25). Mr. Ross and others have lately sought for the ruins of Opis, amid an extensive series of mounds and fragments which exist at the actual junction of the 'Adhem⁴ or Physcus with the Tigris, but some doubt still exists upon this otherwise satisfactory identification. In the time of the Khalifat, Abú'l Fadá describes two great canals as derived from the Tigris above the 'Adhem, one to the east, called *Nahr-wán*, the other to the west called *Dijeíl*, and these had dependent upon them a considerable district of towns, villages, and cultivated lands. Between the *Dijeíl* and the actual Tigris are also evidences of the old bed of the river now called the *Shát Eidhá*. The ruins of 'Akbará, described by Abú'l Fadá as being on the Tigris, are, as handed down by name and tradition, upon this ancient bed of the Tigris; and if therefore this was the bed of the river, in the time of the Khalifat, it is equally likely that it was also so in

* In June 1836, I found the bridge to be 263 paces across, and supported by 35 boats.

⁴ 'Adhem or 'Asem, "the largest river," says Mr. Renouard, is an epithet, rather

than a name. The *h* in Arabic, is sounded like *th* in *thou*, in Persian like a common *z*. Hence it is, in reality, the *Athem* of the Arabs, and *Asem* of the Persians.

times anterior; and hence I have been led to seek (*Researches*, &c. p. 174) for the ruins of Opis at a point where the *Adhem* in its then prolongation to the old bed of the Tigris, would have effected its junction; and at such a point are the numerous mounds and remnants belonging, according to the natives, to *Bábilín*, "the little Babel," a not inappropriate name to a city which, as Dr. Vincent remarks, appears to have risen into eminence upon the decline of the great Assyrian cities. On this subject Captain Lynch says, (*Journ. of R. G. S.* Vol. ix. p. 474), "On looking back to our morning's observations, and the information drawn from the Arabs yesterday, and in former conversations, we were much inclined to adopt the supposition that the level plain over which we had been wandering, through ruins this morning and yesterday, as far as the dry bed, about three miles or a little further on, was once an island; and that the Tigris, dividing at the head of the Median wall, swept by the ruins which we noted, some of which may be Opis, as the line of the *'A'dhem*, if continued on the map, would pass near them." Colonel Rawlinson (*Mem. on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana*, p. 95) also remarks, that the identification of Opis must obviously depend upon the antiquity of the *Kátúr* or *Nahr-wán* excavation.

From Opis, the Greeks made in six days' march 30 parasangs (90 miles) through the desert part of Media, *eis tús Παρυσάτιδος κόμας*. The situation of these villages, according to the distances given, would be at or near the junction of the little Zab with the Tigris; and it is apparently because the historian is occupied in relating the plunder of these villages that he omits to notice the existence of this river—the Caprus of Pliny and the *Záb 'Asfál* of the Arabs.

From the villages of Parysatis they made 20 parasangs "in five days' march through a desert, having the Tigris on their left" hand. "At the end of the first day's march," (or at a distance of 15 miles) "they saw a large and rich city on the other side of the river, called *Kauvai*, where the barbarians transported bread, cheese, and wine, upon rafts made of skins." From the distance here given, the *Kauvai* of Xenophon is at once identified with the Assyrian ruins of *Kal'eh Sherkát*, which have been previously identified by myself (*Travels*, &c. Vol. II. p. 157) with the Ur of the Persians; but they do not correspond with the *Σκερναί, ἀξιόλογος πόλις*, of Strabo (xvi. 748) which was the chief city of the Scenite Arabs, situated upon a canal which

extended thence to the extremity of Babylonia (*ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὁρους, ἐπὶ τινος διώρυχος*), and 18 schæni or 108 miles from Seleucia, corresponding in fact with the modern *Tekrūt*, and further evidencing the antiquity of the Babylonian canals derived from the Tigris, above the Phycus.

It is further remarkable that there exist at the present day ruins upon the Tigris, nearly opposite to the junction of the Great Zab, which are called *Sénn* by the Arabs, and a canal called *Nahr Sénn* is derived from the Tigris, at the same point; but I satisfied myself, on a journey made from *Môsul* to *Kal'eh Sherkât*, that this canal could not, from the interception of the *Hamrîn* and other hills, have ever extended to Babylonia. It is likely therefore that there were several towns similarly designated.

Three days' march beyond Cænæ, the Greeks arrived at the river Zabatus, the Great Zab, or *Zâb 'Alâ* of the Arabs, 400 feet in breadth, where they stayed three days (II. 5, § 1). It appears from the distance thus performed of 48 miles from Cænæ, that they crossed the country, and reached the Great Zab, at some distance from its junction with the Tigris, which is also shewn by their subsequent movements to Larissa; and the point attained by the distance given would correspond to within about five miles of where is the modern ferry and occasional ford, called *Kelêk I'zedî*, or *Yezîdî*, from the village adjacent to it being inhabited by Kurds of that denomination.

Passing over the disastrous events which occurred previous to the passage of the Zab, and which at once disclosed the treachery of the Persians, and brought into activity the talents and energies of Xenophon, we find the Greeks, upon the renewal of hostilities, burning their carriages and tents, distributing their superfluous baggage, and then marching a certain distance before dinner, which accounts for the five miles remaining to the ford. They then crossed the Great Zab, and marched in order of battle, but being attacked by light troops under Mithridates, they made no progress that day. The next day they began their march earlier than usual, for they had "a valley formed by a torrent" (*χαράδρα*) to pass; this appears to be the *Khazîr sâ*, which has been generally considered as the Bumadus of the historians of Alexander, with some probability of correctness. The Greeks, after a successful resistance offered to the attacks of the Persians, marched the rest of the day without disturbance, and came to the river

Tigris. Ἐσταῦθα πῶλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα φέκον δ' αὐτὴν τοπαλαῖον Μῆδοι (III. 4, § 7). It appears further, that the walls of the city, which were 25 feet in breadth and 100 in height, were six miles in circuit, and were built with bricks, "except the plinth, which was of stone, and 20 feet high." Close to the city also, ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλείθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλείθρων· ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησιῶν κωμῶν ἀποσπεφυγότες. This city having been previously described as uninhabited, if we could only read this passage, as being into it (the city) that a great number of the natives who fled from the neighbouring villages had conveyed themselves, instead of into the pyramid, generally meant to signify a nearly solid building, and which if hollow, being only a hundred feet square, could not have contained very many natives; it would assist much in the identification of Larissa with the ruins now called of *Nimrud*; and first visited by Mr. Rich and myself. These ruins occupy a platform situated not far from the junction of the Great Zab with the Tigris, and consist chiefly of long mounds of earth, marking the former extent and area of the city, corresponding with what is related by Xenophon; and of a hill or mound, exceedingly pointed, 144 feet in height, and which appears to be the remains of the pyramid described by the Athenian. This mound appears also to have been rivetted with stonemason work, vestiges of which remain at its western base.

Bochart first advanced the supposition that the Larissa of Xenophon was the same as the Resen of Scriptures, "*et verisimile*," he says, (*Phaleg*. p. 292) "*est Græcis rogantibus cujus urbis essent rudera Assyrios respondisse Leresen addito le ad genitivi notam, atque illud Leresen mutatum esse in Λάρισσαν*." This identification has every probability of being a correct one, for independently of Bochart's other arguments with regard to the non-existence, previous to Alexander's time, of any Greek city of the name of Larissa in these regions, the name preserved by the natives to these ruins, claim for them a place among the great cities of Assyria, and they are situated, as described in the Holy Writ, between Nineveh and Calah, determined by Col. Rawlinson's researches to be at the modern *Sar-Pûli-Zohâb*. I am aware that many have sought for Resen at the modern *Râs' ul' Aïn* or "head of the spring," in Mesopotamia, and the Resaina of the Romans; and although Resen in Hebrew, Ephrem Syrus introduced a *matron* *lectionis* رَسَن in the same way that, to perfect the etymology,

Assemani (*Bib. Or.* Vol. III. part 2, p. 709) exchanges one *s* of the Syriac alphabet for the other, so as to obtain an equivalent to *Rás' ul 'Ain*. This is evidently forcing the etymology to the circumstances of the case.

The Greeks made from Larissa, in one day's march, 18 miles "to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town called Mespila." The distance here performed would carry the Greeks from *Nimrud* to the modern village of *Yarém-jáh*, built upon a mound of ruins 1150 feet long by 42 in perpendicular height, and situated on a bend of the river at a short distance from Nineveh, and which thus from Xenophon's evidence would appear to belong to an ancient castle, and not, as Mr. Rich thinks, to part of the city of Nineveh itself.

The orthography adopted by Major Rennell, a careful scholar, as well as a distinguished geographer, for the Mespila of Xenophon, is *Meso-pulai*, "the middle gates or pass," and applicable to the narrow pass of the Tigris which has existed at Nineveh from the remotest times. Rennell even thinks that the city of *Mósul* may have derived its name from Mesulce, a corruption of *Meso-pulai*. That, however, the Mespila of Xenophon is the same as the Nineveh of antiquity, is evidenced by distances, and by the circumstance that there are no other ruins of sufficient extent, excepting those of Nineveh, to answer the descriptions of the historian. I have also established a strongly corroborative proof (*Researches*, &c., p. 257) in the fact that the plinth of the wall was built with the common stone of *Mósul*, which is full of fossil shells, and it is described by our historian as constructed of λίθου ξειστοῦ κογχυλίου. Leunclavius argues that these shells were sculptured on the walls, others have treated the subject as unworthy of attention, but it has served, like any other correct observation, to illustrate a question of identity; for the same fossiliferous limestone, which at *Mósul* alternates with beds of gypsum, is not met with many miles to the north or south of that city, being succeeded by unproductive wastes of the last-mentioned mineral.

From Mespila, the Greeks made in one day's march 12 miles. This would have carried them to the present small Chaldean town of *Tel Kāif*, a site of some interest on the Assyrian plain, and whose tell or mound is undoubtedly of remote antiquity.

Having rested here a day, in order to provision the army, they departed the next over an open country, harassed by the enemy, and marched five days. "While they were upon their

march the fifth day they saw a palace and many villages lying round it." As Xenophon afterwards says explicitly, *τήν τε ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν κάμνη*. (III. 4. § 24), we must believe that the Greeks, who were delighted with meeting a hilly country, could not have seen the palace till the hills were surmounted. The first hills that are met with in proceeding northwards from Adiabene to Karduchia, constitute a double range designated *Chá Spí* by the Kurds, and *Jebel 'Abyádih* by the Arabs, both signifying White Hills, and immediately beyond them is *Zákhú*, at a distance of about 50 miles by map from *Tel Kaïf*, but about 60 by the road, giving an average of 12 miles per diem.

The "white hills" are, as described by Xenophon, a prolongation of the loftier mountains of Kurdistan, and they are divided at the point of passage into two distinct ranges, with an intervening wooded irregular and hilly vale. The enemy attacked the Greeks on passing the first range, and successively on each different height, and the Greeks only gained the villages after much fighting and with many wounded. The appearance of *Zákhú*, in the present day, corresponds in a remarkable manner with what it is described to have been in the time of Xenophon—a palace amid villages. As the stranger approaches he is struck with its bold and isolated appearance—a pile of ruin, belonging to different ages, built on an island of rock, and a good picture of a baronial castle of feudal times, surrounded by the cottages of serfs and retainers.

The fourth day the Greeks *καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον* (III. 4. § 31), according to our historian, although, "advanced upon the plain," would have been an expression more consonant with the identifications here established, especially as they had already surmounted the hills. Tissaphernes attacking them to advantage on the plain of *Zákhú*, they were obliged to encamp at the first village, from whence they started again at night, making 6 miles, to which if we add as much for the day's march, it would carry them to the ancient mound called *Tel Kobbín*, now surmounted by a village of Chaldeans. The Greeks marched hence two days unmolested, but on the third day the enemy was found to have got before them, and possessed themselves of an eminence that commanded the road. From a careful study of the adjacent country, and allowing a march of 9 geographical miles per diem, this eminence would appear to be the last of the series, of which the first, or more

southerly, is occupied by the ruins of the castle of *Rabáhi*, overlooking a fertile tract with villages, which extends thence along the Tigris, to *Jezreh ibn 'Omár*, or, in the words of Xenophon, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. The Greeks were here obliged to outflank the enemy, which was done by a body of troops under the command of Xenophon, and the Persians having fled, they marched down upon the plain, and encamped in a village, of which there were many, abounding in "all sorts of provisions."

Two other points indicate the position of the Greeks at this moment to have been the neighbourhood of *Jezreh*; the first is, that many herds of cattle are described as being taken when the people of the country were endeavouring to make them pass the river, this being a ferry from all antiquity, as also the seat of a bridge in the middle ages; and, secondly, that the generals and captains assembled in great perplexity, "for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a deep river;" and this is the point where the Tigris is first hemmed in by the mountains of Kurdistan. Instead of at once attempting the passage of the mountains, the Greeks turned off next day up the valley of the Chaldean district and episcopate of *Már-Yúhannáh*, where they obtained prisoners, one of whom described to them the existence of four roads: 1st, that by which they came; 2ndly, one to the east, leading to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, (through the country of the Chaldeans and the upper Zab); a third, west, over the Tigris, to Lydia, &c. (by Nisibis, &c.); and a fourth, over the mountains, which led to the Karduchians. (III. 5. § 15.)

Having resolved upon the last road, they started while it was yet dark, and came to the mountains by break of day, and passing the summit of the mountain, they gained without molestation "the villages of the Karduchians that lay dispersed in the valleys and recesses of the mountains." Thus was accomplished the entrance into Kurdistán, and from previous details, as well as the circumstances of the case, and the peculiar description given of the position of the villages, ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων, there can be very little doubt that they gained what are the first Kurd villages in the pass of the Tigris to the present day, in the centre of which is *Feník*, surrounded by extensive ruins and luxuriant gardens, and representing apparently the Phœnica of Ammianus Marcell. (xx. p. 15, 18, 26), of which I have only been able to find notices in that author, and certain Kurd histories quoted

by Mr. Rich (*Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan, &c.* Vol. i. pp. 106 and 375), who, however, did not visit the place, for these were countries unexplored by Europeans previous to my travels in 1840.

On the next day's march, the generals placed themselves in a pass, (most probably the ravine of the rivulet of *Zawíyah*, about six miles beyond *Feník*, and the only point affording the desirable facilities), and deprived the soldiers of all superfluous baggage, slaves, &c. "In this manner they marched that day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves." It is probable, therefore, that they did not travel beyond the slope of the hills above *Zawíyah*, where are now the remains of *Konákti* and other castles, which once commanded the approach to the hills, and which are about eight miles from *Feník*.

The next day there was a great storm, but they were obliged to go on, and the enemy made a brisk attack upon them, *σπενών δυνάμει τῶν χαρίων*, (IV. I. § 12), for beyond the castle of *Konákti*, and the ascent of the hills, the road leads through narrow rocky ravines, which sometimes terminate abruptly over precipices of great perpendicular height. When they had arrived at the place where they designed to encamp, Xenophon upbraided Cheirisophus for hastening forward, and deserting him in the passes; but the Lacedæmonian answered him by pointing to the road before them, calling upon him to observe how impassable the mountains were, defended by a multitude of men; and that he had marched hastily to make himself master of the pass. From this, it is evident to a person intimate with the topography of the country in question, that the position now gained was the pass of the second range of hills⁵, between the large Kurd village of *Findák*, and the Syrian hamlets called *Kúwárro* and *Baráván*, and from whence the valley of the Tigris is perceived opening a little round the foot of the colossal mountain of *Vihán* (left bank), but shut up beyond by bold and precipitous rocks. Guided by information extorted from a prisoner, three captains volunteered to start the same evening by a circuitous road to gain the first summit, whose base is washed by a small but rapid tributary to the Tigris, and whose precipitous face is in the present day defended by a ruined castle. At the same time, Xenophon marched with the rear guard directly to the passage by the open valley, in order to draw the attention of

⁵ Seven geographical miles from *Konákti*.

the enemy that way, and when they came to the cross valley with the rivulet, described by Xenophon, like the Kházír-sú, as a *Χαράδρα*, or a valley formed by a torrent, and which they were to pass in order to climb the ascent, the Kurds so defended the ravine with large stones, as to render it inaccessible.

The surprised party, which had marched round with the guide, found the enemy's guard sitting round a fire, and having killed some of them, and forced others down the precipice, they stayed there, thinking they had made themselves masters of the summit, but in this, as Xenophon remarks, they were mistaken, for there was still an eminence above them, near which lay the narrow way, where the guard sate. Nothing therefore was in reality gained by this movement, and the next day early, and favoured by a mist, Xenophon advanced upon the enemy and routed them, which allowed Cheirisophus to march up the passage, while the rest of the generals took bye paths, each of them where he happened to be, and climbing as well as they could, *ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι*, highly expressive of the character of the difficulties which they had to surmount. But Xenophon dividing the rear guard into one half in advance, and the other in the rear of the baggage, marched up the same way, (or to the right,) which those went who had the guide, and which was the only one feasible to sumpter-horses. In their march they came to a hill which was possessed by the enemy, whom they were obliged to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the Greeks. Beyond this they met with another hill also possessed by the enemy, and having left a guard at the first hill, Xenophon attacked this, and drove the Kurds from it. But there remained a third hill, which was the eminence that commanded the post where the guard was surprised at the fire, the night before, by the detachment. The Kurds however retired from this position, and attacking the guard left at the first hill, slew several captains and many men. Xenophon was obliged, in consequence, to enter into treaty with the Kurds, who after this success returned in force before him, but Cheirisophus and the rest of the army, coming up at the time, (the third hill or eminence being then open to them, as a direct passage, and *the first* to them) a movement in advance was made, by which Xenophon was put in danger from rolling stones, and deserted by his standardbearer, but the Greeks prevailed, and they were the same evening quartered all together "in many good houses, where they found abundance of provisions, and where there was plenty of wine, which they kept in plastered cisterns." (iv. 2.

§ 22.) The description here given by Xenophon of the preserving their wine in plastered cisterns assists in clearing up a question which has created much discussion among travellers, as to the use of the numerous plastered cisterns, which are so frequent in Kurdistan, Armenia, and northern Syria, and which being in the form of a pear, and the mouth often closed by a single great stone, have been looked upon sometimes as sepulchres, and at others as granaries and reservoirs for water; but which were, no doubt, for the store of wine, when that luxury was more abundant in those countries.

There exist to the present day several large Kurd villages, having goodly wood houses, resembling the better class of Swiss cottages, perched upon the hills and cliffs, of this, the most difficult of the passes of the Tigris; and along the valley of which there is not even a horse or wading road, except at the very driest part of the summer season; at which time I succeeded in passing it, and hence it is that travellers following the course of the river, are accustomed to cross its stream at the ferry (*Chelék*),⁶ a few miles to the northward, and to follow a road to *Jezreh*, which is carried inland beyond the left bank.

The following day, the Greeks, although continually harassed by the Kurds, who everywhere occupied the eminences, (and the whole of the road is hilly,) arrived at villages, which were situated, above the plain that extends to the river Centrites, and they thus accomplished a distance of from nine to ten miles. This river is described as 200 feet broad, "and the boundary between Armenia and the country of the Karduchians;" and also "about six or seven stadia (not quite a mile) from the Karduchian mountains."

The distances as given in the foregoing narrative identify the Centrites with the *Buhtán-chäi*, which I first determined not to be the river of *Betlis*, but to flow eastward of *Se'rt*, and to empty itself into the Tigris, opposite to the ancient Armenian mound and village of *Til*, celebrated in Armenian history as favoured by Tigranes, and the burial-place of several of the Armenian pontiffs. The history of errors entertained previously, with regard to the *Buhtán-chäi*, form a curious chapter in the progress of geography.

The passage of the Centrites was disputed to the Greeks by Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldeans, and they were harassed by Kurds in their rear. It is remarkable that there still exist to

⁶ The Kurds pronounce *Kelék*, a raft or ferry, *Chelék*.

the present day several villages of Chaldeans in this neighbourhood. The river Centrites is not fordable below *Janîminiyyâh*, where it is hemmed in by hills; and this spot coincides also with the description given of the eminence occupied by the enemy on the opposite side. The army having passed the river about noon, marched at once over the plain of Armenia, intermixed with hills of easy ascent, making no less than fifteen miles, when they arrived at a large village, which had a palace in it belonging to the satrap; this, by the distances given, would correspond to the position of *Se'rt*, which, like *Zâkhû*, preserves to the present day the character of a large village, with a palace in it. From this place they made in two days' march 30 miles, and were then advanced above the head of the Tigris. Had the Greeks marched by the great road from *Se'rt* to *Betlis*, the distances here given would not have carried them as far as to the head-waters of the Tigris, which are at *Bâsh Khân*, not far from lake Van; they must therefore have ascended directly towards the great chain of 'Ali *Tâgh* corresponding to the ancient Niphates; by which proceeding, a journey of 30 miles would have carried them beyond the head-waters of the tributaries of the Tigris, and another 45 miles would have taken them to the valley of the *Kârá-sû*, which has already been recognized by others as corresponding with the Teleboas of our author, and which flows through the plain of *Mûsh*—the ancient Moxoene—apparently in remote times, as at present, the seat of numerous towns and villages, and having a large population.

From the river *Kârá-sû*, the Greeks marched up the plain, and in three days made 45 miles, when they came to a palace surrounded by many villages. The direction followed by the Greeks, after reaching the *Kârá-sû*, is determined by the time which it took them to arrive at the Euphrates, which they are described as passing over not far from its sources. Had the Greeks pursued a northerly course, they would have arrived at the *Murâd-sû*, or eastern Euphrates, in a day's march or less; but at that point it would not have been fordable; and it must have been for the purpose of arriving above its junction with the river of *Khanûs*, called *Bîn-göl-sû*⁷, that they followed a north-easterly direction, up the plain of *Mûsh*, and towards the sites of *Perâk* or *Lîs*, north of lake *Nazûk*, and in which fertile district the palace and village described by Xenophon appear to have existed. The great

⁷ "River of a thousand lakes," from the mountain of the same name.

cold experienced by the Greeks in the Armenian uplands, and the sufferings entailed thereby, have been the subject of a variety of conjectures. A positive elevation, amounting on the plain of *Músh*, by my own barometrical observations, to 4200 feet above the sea; at *Khanús* to 5200 feet, at *Erz-Rúm* to 5500 feet, and preserving, if not surpassing, the same elevation, in all the intervening country; and in which the immediate results of a lower temperature induced by elevation, are increased by the openness of the country and the long continuity of high and elevated tracts of land, appear quite sufficient to account for this otherwise curious phenomenon.

After an excursion against Teribazus, the Greeks set forward through a deep snow, and made four marches "through a desert" to the Euphrates, which they passed, "the water coming up to the navel." Allowing a distance of about six miles for the first day's march, in which they are described as only encompassing an eminence possessed by Teribazus, and 15 miles for each of the ensuing days, the point where the Greeks would have forded the river would have been at or near the ford of *Melásghird*, the first which presents itself above the junction of the *Bin-göl-sú*.

Having crossed the eastern Euphrates at the first feasible point, the Greeks appear to have wished to regain a more direct course to the sea, and they made in three days' march 45 miles, over a plain covered with deep snow, and then another day, also in the snow; when they came to villages, near to which, or about three miles distance, was the palace of the satrap. This corresponds closely with the position of *Khanús Kal'ehsi* (*Jihán Numá*, p. 425). This wild castle, built upon more ancient foundations, is situated on a branch of the *Bin-göl-sú*, in the midst of the Armenian uplands, three miles from 'Arúz, the nearest village, and beyond which, again, is the fertile portion of the district, containing, in the present day, eighteen Armenian villages. This isolation of the castle or palace from the villages is a remarkably distinctive fact. The description given by Xenophon of the Armenian houses, has been recognized in all its simple yet forcible truth, by almost every traveller in these countries.

At these villages they obtained a guide, who after conducting them three days over an uninhabited country, ran away from them; and they made after that seven more marches, before they arrived at the river Phasis, where it is described as being 100 feet in width (iv. 6. § 4). The distance here travelled of 150 miles would carry the Greeks to the *Arás*, north of Mount Ararat. In giving the name of Phasis, applied by Strabo, Pliny, and many other

authorities, to the Colchian river, now called *Rhíon*, to the river *Arás* or Araxes, Xenophon appears to have followed a tradition belonging to earlier times than the imagined discovery of the Phison or Phasis, as a tributary to the Euxine; and to have identified the *Arás* with the Phison of the Scriptures, which sprang from the same locality as the Euphrates, and the Hiddekel or Tigris. Rennell, Delisle, and others, have advocated this identity; and it is remarkable that the upper part of the *Arás* is still called *Pásín-chái*.

Having crossed the Phasis or *Arás*, north of Mount Ararat, the Greeks would have before them the redoubtable chain called the *Kapán Tágh*, the Coraxii of Pliny, and which they reached in two marches making 30 miles; and having carried the pass against a mixed army of natives, designated as *Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φαριανοί*, they marched down into the plain, where they found villages well stored with all sorts of provisions.

From these villages the Greeks advanced through the country of the Taochians, or that part of Georgia which extends between the *Arás* and the *Kúr* or Cyrus, and through which they travelled five days, making 90 miles, during which they suffered many privations, for their provisions began to fail them, the Taochians inhabiting mountains and fastnesses; from which custom they probably derived their name—living indeed like the fowls of the air; *Taöke* in the original language of the Georgians and Tatars of the *Kúr*, signifying a fowl or bird. At the end of the five marches they arrived at a strong place without houses, but where a great number of men and cattle had assembled, and which, from the description of its inaccessible cliffs, and the distances travelled, would appear to be represented by the modern Russian fort of Tzalka, or Tzarskie as it is called by Strüve in his astronomical positions, and the same as the Tahoskari of D'Anville, and Taochir of Delisle.

How the Greeks after advancing 90 miles into Georgia were led to change their direction, and return the same distance, and also that quantity added to it, which would make the difference between where they entered the country, from the *Arás*, and issued from it by the *'Arpá-chái* (*'Αρπάρως*), or in all 150 miles, does not appear, but it was connected with the capture of the fort of the Taochians, towards which they may have only moved in search of the positive necessities of life, or they may have obtained there information calculated to mislead them with regard to the direct road to the sea. Be this as it may, we have travelled too far with our historian, and found a too constant accuracy in

all his details, to venture to express doubts as to that accuracy now that the amount of journeys and extent of countries traversed almost exceeds credibility, and could indeed scarcely be believed, were it not for this tested accuracy of the historian and the connecting points, which even here, in the most obscure portion of the whole narrative, still serve, like links in a chain, to illustrate these otherwise extraordinary and almost inexplicable movements of the Greeks.

The leading fact to be observed in this portion of the narrative is, that the Greeks must have necessarily crossed the Harpasus (*Arpá-chái*;) low down in its course, from the account given of its width; and also that they crossed it from east to west; for crossing it, they came into the country of the *Σκυθῶναι*, whose country, after gaining Gymnias, and after a journey of six days, directly towards the sea, they found separated by a river from that of the Macrones, and hence it was to the westward of the Harpasus.

From the Harpasus the Greeks next travelled 60 miles to villages, which would appear to have been thus situated at the head-waters of the river of *Kárs*, and from whence to have gained the city of Gymnias they had to effect the passage of the *Sógháni Tágh*. From these villages they travelled 60 miles in four days' marches, to the city of *ρυνίας*, called *ρυνναρία* by Diodorus Siculus, and which appears to correspond to the "citadel of the Romans or Greeks," as its modern name *Erz-Rúm* signifies, and whose city must have had a name among its previous possessors, anterior to that given to it by the Arabs. But this is one of the few unsatisfactorily determined identifications in this memoir.

Here the Greeks obtained a guide, who led them in five days to the holy mountain *Ὁῦλῆς*, from whence, to their infinite joy, they first saw the sea. This spot is on the *Kóp Tágh*, the chain which separates the *Kárá-sú* from the *Tchorúk-sú*. Five marches certainly appear considerable to have been required to arrive at this distance from *Erz-Rúm*, and the length of the marches is not given, but that of the three subsequent marches, through the country of the Macrones, is given, and amounts to 10 miles per diem. If the Greeks only marched at the same rate from Gymnias to Theches, the five marches would be at once explained, for by the road I travelled, there were 67 miles from *Erz-Rúm* to *Baibúrt*, on the *Tchorúk-sú*; and that they were on the northern side of the chain, or that which is above the *Tchorúk-sú* when they first distinguished the sea, is evidenced by the fact that there only remained part of a day's journey to gain the river.

Misled by a remote, but no real connexion of names, some have sought for the monument left by the Greeks at a place called *Tekkiiyéh*, "the monastery," others have sought for it at *Kará Kapán*, where there is a positive pile of stones, but Colonel Chesney assures me of his being acquainted with the position of the actual monument, under circumstances the geographical relation of which are, I believe, similar to what are contained in this memoir.

On the ensuing day's march the Greeks came to a river which divided the territory of the *Σκυθιοί* from that of the *Μάκρωνες*. They had on their right an eminence of very difficult access, and on their left another river, into which the river that served as a boundary between the two nations, and which the Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. The Macrones conducted the Greeks through their country three days, till they brought them to the mountains of the *Κόλχοι*, corresponding to the maritime range called the *Kóhát Tágh*, and still designated as the Colchian range by geographers. Here it was that the Greeks partook of the intoxicating honey, whose properties were given to it probably by the bees feeding not only on the produce of the *Azalea Pontica*, but also of the *Rhododendron Ponticum* and *Nerium oleander*; the natural family *Apocynæ* possessing even more marked narcotic properties than the *Rhodoracææ*.

From the villages of the Colchians, the Greeks made in two days' march 21 miles (geographic always understood), and arrived at Trebizond; beyond which important station the movements of the Greeks are sufficiently known, not to require so much detail. The chief novelty which recent research has effected in this, the latter part of the journey, is the discovery of the *Kerasún Deréshú* by Mr. W. J. Hamilton, a valley more likely, by its distance from Trebizond, to have been the site of the ancient Kerasunt, than the modern town of that name, which appears to have been the ancient Pharnacia, and whence apparently Arrian's mistake, that Kerasunt and Pharnacia were the same places. It is to be remarked in favour of this correction also, that the author of the anonymous *Periplus* places Kerasunt at a distance of 90 stadia from Hieron Oros, and the vale of *Kerasún* is nine miles from Cape *Yoros*; and the same authority places it 60 stadia from Coralla, and the *Kerasún Deréshú* is about six miles from Cape *Kerelli*, generally identified with the ancient Coralla.

W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH.

XXVI.

EXCURSIONS FROM ROME IN JUNE 1843.

I.

LEAVING Rome by the Porta San Paolo, we passed the churches of "the Three Fountains," and continued on the line of the old Via Ardeatina until we reached Solfatara, which is thought by some to be the site of the oracle of Faunus, consulted by Latinus. There is a deep basin, doubtless the crater of an extinct volcano, from which sulphureous matter bubbles up in one part, but the rest is overgrown with coarse grass and underwood; on one side of this basin a hill rises abruptly, presenting a rocky cliff partly covered with brushwood; but this hill, as well as the surrounding country, is now entirely devoid of trees, and ill accords with Virgil's expression, when king Latinus

— "oracula Fanni

Fatidici genitoris adit, lucosque sub altâ

Consulit Albunæ: nemorum quæ maxima sacro

Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca mephitim."

Æneid vii. 81.

The groves have entirely disappeared, but the fountain still exhales a strong sulphureous odour, and the place, when encompassed by a forest, may have been well adapted for inspiring religious awe. The hill above the fountain is surmounted with a farm-house and its appurtenances.

From Solfatara, we rode in a westerly direction towards Pratica, which is completely shut in by woods, which we entered about three miles before we reached the town. The ancient Lavinium was defended on two sides by a deep valley, and was accessible only by a narrow neck of land, which we crossed on approaching the handsome modern gateway leading to a small square, which is flanked on one side by the Palazzo Baronale, built by the Colonna family about three centuries ago. This palace contains a very high tower commanding a magnificent view of the neighbouring country, and of the sea, which is not above four miles distant. A very small part of the space probably occupied by Lavinium is now covered by the village of Pratica, but we could find no traces of walls belonging to the ancient city; in fact, the only ancient remains to be found at Pratica consist of

four or five marble fragments with inscriptions upon them. These inscriptions, which have been published by Nibby, are evidently of an excellent period of art, for the letters are plain and deeply engraved; they establish the fact that the inhabitants of Laurentum were incorporated with those of Lavinium, (Laurentum being probably situated at Torre Paterno, an unhealthy spot near the sea, five miles from Lavinium); for what else can be the meaning of the phrase, *Senatus populusque, Laur. Lav.*, which occurs upon the pedestal of a statue erected in honour of the emperor Maximianus? And this is not the only instance in which the expression is found in these inscriptions. It is greatly to be regretted that these marbles are not carried to Rome, or removed to a place where they would no longer be exposed to injury; two of them were lying neglected close to the door of a stable, the inscriptions reversed, and in a sad state of degradation; but it is satisfactory to know that the inscriptions have been published. Lavinium is an instance of what is so common in the sites of the early Italian towns; a tongue of land separating two valleys was selected, thereby only one side was liable to attack, and, in the case before us, the town was united to the surrounding country by an extremely narrow isthmus. As far as we could guess, the space occupied by the town did not exceed five or six acres. If Æneas made it the capital of his new kingdom, it did not long enjoy that honour, for his son Ascanius transferred the seat of government to Alba a few years after:

“At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo,
Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbes
Imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
Transferet, et longam multâ vi muniet Albam.”

Æneid 1. 267.

On leaving Pratica, we proceeded through the wood formerly called *Lucus Jovis Indigetis*, and crossed the *Numicius*, a narrow stream now called *Rio Torto*, in which Æneas is supposed to have been drowned, being sunk by the weight of his armour, and being no more seen, he was thought to have been conveyed to heaven, and accordingly worshipped under the title of *Jupiter Indiges*:

“Indigetem Æneam scis ipsa, et scire fateris
Deberi celo, fatisque ad sidera tolli.” *Æneid* XII. 794.

At length we reached Ardea, which is between five and six miles from Pratica, like which, it is situated immediately above the con-

fluence of two streams, and its strongest artificial defence is on the N.E., where it is cut off by a deep ditch and high stone wall from the narrow strip of land which divides two valleys; on the sides towards the valleys the precipitous rock renders walls unnecessary, but at the S.W. extremity there must have been ancient walls, which have given place to modern battlements and a modern gateway. On entering, we found the modern Ardea nothing more than a scanty village; adjoining the gate is a large deserted house belonging to the Cesarini, who are the feudal lords of the place. In the town, the rock has been cut so as to imitate external walls, of such thickness that three persons might easily walk abreast, and in these we observed some of the egg-shaped cavities which are also visible in the neighbourhood of Veii: they are cut in the solid rock. The circular aperture at the top is about two feet in diameter, the entire depth ten or twelve feet, and the diameter at the widest part about five feet. They are supposed to have been used as granaries. We saw no marbles at Ardea, except an altar, which was beautifully wrought. There was a building which appeared to have been the cella of a temple, and which had been subsequently used as a dwelling: it was devoid of ornament, but the interior contained niches for statues. There is but one gate to the town, which is inaccessible on three sides; so that the traveller arriving from Albano, which is to the N.E., is first made aware of his approach to a city by a huge rampart and ditch, extending straight across from one valley to the other: where the mound has been cut to allow the road to pass, some traces of masonry which formed a gateway are visible. After proceeding about a quarter of a mile he meets with a similar agger, also reaching from one valley to the other; another quarter of a mile brings him to the wall of the town, which is sixty feet high, supporting the bank inside, and defended by a pentagonal tower: he must then pass outside, along the whole length of the town, before he reaches the gateway. In the vicinity of Ardea the rock in many places is perforated to form caves, which were probably tombs. Outside, we observed substructions of reticulated work, belonging of course to the Roman period. Virgil, probably for the purpose of magnifying the capital of Turnus, the rival of his hero, intimates that Ardea had in his day greatly declined from its pristine greatness—

—“Locus Ardea quondam

Dictus avis: et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen;
Sed fortuna fuit.” *Æneid* vii. 411.

After quitting Ardea we descended almost to the mouth of the Rio Felice, which flows on the north side of the town, and then turning along the sea-coast we passed the site of Castrum Inui, which is in the number of the towns enumerated by Anchises to his son as about to be one day constructed by his descendants. We proceeded close to the sea through a forest until we reached Porto d' Anzo, which affords a fine view of the bay extending to Astura, where Cicero had a villa. The ancient Antium, being the birth-place of Nero, and one of his favourite residences, was adorned by him with a port and many magnificent buildings. Among these, the port claims particular attention. The deep basin, composed of a semicircular bay, and a mole, of which fragments still rise above the surface of the water, is half choked by a high bank of sand, and is not now used as a shelter for ships; there being a modern mole on the south side of the harbour, which answers that purpose. The north side of the basin was lined with store-houses, which consist of brick arches towards the sea, and lead to caverns excavated to a great depth in the rock: the brick-work is of the best period, and remarkably well preserved. From the northern horn of the port the sea-coast is covered with ruins for the space of half a mile; and the same taste was evidently indulged here as at Baiæ, viz. that of erecting buildings actually hanging over the sea, the substructions of which are now washed by the waves. The greatest variety is displayed in the different structures, of which the remains are scattered from the ancient port of Nero to a small promontory formed of tufo, which is perforated with long tunnels in order to serve as approaches to buildings beyond it; these however have perished in consequence of the inroads of the sea, which washed down the rock itself and all that stood upon it. These vaulted passages may have served as luxurious retreats wherein to escape from the great heat in summer; and as *one* would have been a sufficient communication through the palace, the others which terminate towards the sea would be admirably adapted for the enjoyment of the breeze and of the view. The series of ruins along the coast is composed entirely of brick, apparently of the same date with the magazines at the harbour; it contains no edifice which can be considered a temple, but, on the contrary, we were led to conclude that the whole was for domestic purposes, and was in fact the palace of Nero¹. We remarked a bay-window towards the sea, and in a

¹ The famous Apollo Belvedere was found here. See Visconti, *Musée Pio-Clementin*, Tom. I. p. 136.

few instances small staircases leading down to the sands, probably intended for the convenience of bathing.

Antium was forty miles distant from Rome, and was a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans during the imperial times. We examined what had been the lower story of a villa situated inland behind the harbour; the remains consist of two sides of a square court, which had been surrounded by a corridor or cloister communicating with a number of small apartments of different sizes, some of which had evidently been baths, for there were traces of the pipes and apertures for admitting hot air. In all these chambers the stucco was well preserved; but although there was a variety of ornamental patterns, there were no paintings of any consequence. About half a mile from the coast there are substructions, which, in consequence of being nearly covered with earth and shrubs, hardly repay the trouble of investigation. The site of the famous Temple of Fortune is undetermined; and the ancient port with its adjacent storehouses, and the long line of ruins covering the coast, form the principal objects of interest to the antiquary at Porto d' Anzo.

In passing along the coast to Nettuno, we observed brick-work, which led us to suppose that there also had been villas abutting upon the sea. The road from Nettuno to Albano lies for the first ten miles through a wood, and then gradually ascends: we turned off from it a few miles short of Albano, in order to pass through the basin of what was the Lacus Aricinus, from which the view of Lariccia and the woods above it is very imposing. On reaching the line of the Via Appia we soon found the magnificent viaduct which conducts that "Regina Viarum" up the hill adjoining Lariccia: this viaduct is on one side 70 or 80 feet in height, and built of enormous stones in regular courses; on the other side it may be half that height. The traveller from Rome to Naples does not pass along the Via Appia in this place, in consequence of the modern road being made to wind through Lariccia. It is worthy of observation, that the present Lariccia was only the citadel of the ancient Aricia, which lay at the foot of the hill between it and the Via Appia. The cella of a temple, degraded into a habitation, and a few fragments, are all that remain to mark the first resting-place of Horace on his well-known journey from Rome to Brundisium:

"Egressum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ."

Albano is too well known to require any particular description here; but we cannot omit to mention that Monte Cavi, exclusive

of the magnificent ponorama which it affords, is highly interesting to the antiquary and the classical scholar, as having been the mountain whereon the *Feriæ Latinæ* were celebrated. For the last half mile before reaching the summit, we traversed the ancient paved road, which is quite perfect, but so narrow that two cars could not pass each other upon it: the pavement might no doubt be traced for a much greater distance if the earth and shrubs were cleared off it, but unfortunately the modern path takes a different direction, and thus the original road is neglected. A few stones belonging to the temple of Jupiter Latialis are still in their primitive position, but the rest were displaced when the present convent of the Padri Passionisti was built, and are now to be seen heaped up, and forming part of the fence of the monks' garden. No other spot could have been chosen so admirably adapted for the temple which the inhabitants of all the Latin cities were to regard with common veneration, since it was visible from every part of Latium. Virgil in the *Æneid* makes the same use of this hill as Homer does of Ida in the *Iliad*, viz. as a resting-place for the gods, wherefrom they may witness the events of the campaign which is taking place in the plains below:

“At Juno e summo, qui nunc Albanus habetur,
Tum neque nomen erat, nec honos, nec gloria monti,
Prospiciens tumulo, campum aspectabat, et ambas
Laurentùm Troûmq̃ue acies, urbemque Latini.”

Æneid XII. 134.

On our return from Albano to Rome we visited the site of Bovillæ, situated a quarter of a mile to the west of the Via Appia, about a mile from Albano. We examined a small theatre which has been excavated of late years, and an *ædicula* near it of a square form with a vaulted roof, and conjectured by Nibby to have been the chapel of the Julian family, in which the body of Augustus rested for one night before it was conveyed with becoming pomp to the mausoleum which he had erected for his family in Rome.

II.

HAVING reached Corneto early in the morning of the 8th of June, we proceeded, under the guidance of the *custode* who shews the painted tombs, to a distance of two miles from the town, and then commenced examining them. They vary with respect to

the depth of the entrance below the surface of the ground, but in all cases the narrow passage, which is open to the sky and has been cut in the rock and afterwards filled with earth, is extremely steep; the door-case, which also is cut in the living rock, is always in a slightly sloping position, so that the stone door partly rested against the sides of the aperture. The hill upon which these tombs are found is called Monte-rozzi, and was the necropolis of Tarquini; it is divided from that upon which the city stood by a very broad valley. The cemetery extends over the space of five or six miles in length, and about half a mile in width. Hillocks are continually seen at various distances: these had formerly a case of stone round the base, and were finished in a conical shape, but the outer coating is now gone in every instance except one, which was specially pointed out to us: in this, the circuit round the base was fifty paces, and the stone-work was visible to the height of four feet, from which point the sloping sides of the cone would commence. All the hillocks which we visited had, on one side or the other, a small aperture low down; but in the tombs where no paintings have been found, the earth has been suffered to fall in, and the chamber has become inaccessible. In several instances the caves which we visited containing paintings have no hillock or tumulus over them; but whether it had been levelled by time, or had never existed, we could not decide. The appearance of the whole hill is extremely uneven, there being numberless holes which are the result of abortive attempts at discovering caves, or places where, when the cave has been rifled, the earth has been suffered to fall in and accumulate. We visited one cave very difficult of access, and which Mrs. Hamilton Gray, who has published a work entitled *A Tour to the Sepulchres of ancient Etruria* in 1839, could not possibly have entered. On looking into a hole in the ground, we saw that about a third of the stone door had been broken with an axe; through this aperture we let ourselves down one by one, and on reaching the floor of the tomb, and obtaining a light, we found that in form it resembled most of those described by Mrs. Gray, being rectangular, about twelve feet in length, and six feet broad; the roof was inclined towards what resembles a beam running length-wise, and this beam was painted with a draft-board pattern; the side opposite to the door was adorned with a somewhat indecent representation of a man killing a sow, which has occasioned the name of "Grotta della scrofa" being given to it. The chief interest connected with this tomb

arises from the circumstance of the larger part of the stone door being in its original position, so that when inside, you see how neatly the door was fitted, and how completely it excluded air and damp from the chamber within. The cave had of course been rifled, and its moveables carried off by means of the above-mentioned aperture; and it has not been deemed worth while to furnish it with an iron door, as has been the case with the others. We entered ten or twelve more tombs, all of which are painted, but contain, the greater part of them, nothing which could be carried away. There was, however, one large one with a central column left in the rock, and three shelves for the arrangement of recumbent figures of the size of life, some of which remain. The usual position is that of leaning upon the elbow as if in the attitude generally assumed at feasts. These rude figures are sculptured upon the cover of a sarcophagus; and if there be any inscription, it is carved upon the edge where the lid closes the stone coffin. We particularly noticed a tomb entitled by the guides "*Grotta delle false porte*," and it happens to be the only one where the real door is entire; but the name has been given, because on the three sides, right and left, and facing the aperture, a door-case and door are painted on the walls, thus interrupting the series of figures which occupy the intervening spaces. The stone door displaced at the opening of this grotto is adorned with twenty-five small square compartments, containing rudely carved monsters and animals, the ornamented side having been placed inwards.

We understood from the guides that not above one in ten of the caves which are opened have the walls painted, but those which are plain immediately after their spoliation are filled up; and as the earth falls in, and the grass grows over it, future excavators are liable to waste their pains in re-opening sepulchres which have been long ago despoiled. There are in all about twelve sepulchres which are furnished with modern doors, and thereby preserved for the benefit of the curious; these have each a name given at the time of the original excavation. We entered them all, and observed with regret that in many the colours are fast fading away; but as the principal ones have been accurately copied by Roman artists, whose works are in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican, these invaluable representations of Etruscan manners are not likely to be lost to the world.

Upon quitting the necropolis, we descended into the valley which divides it from the site of Tarquinii, and enquiring of a

shepherd the name of the hill before us, he informed us it was called "Monte della città;" which name is usually given to sites formerly occupied by cities; but it is also called Turchino—a corruption of Tarquinii. The whole slope of the hill was strewn with fragments of hewn stones, which were the more visible owing to the circumstance of the ground having been lately laid open by the plough. In a few places on the brow of the hill fragments of the wall which had surrounded the citadel were discoverable, and on the highest point four or five rows of steps led to a pavement in the shape of a parallelogram, which had every appearance of having been the floor of a temple; this, with the fragments of town-wall, was all that we found to mark the site of Tarquinii. As far as we could judge from the shape of the ground, there had been a gate leading to a road across to the necropolis: portions of the gate-posts were visible, and immediately outside the gate there was a deep well. The circuit of the city, if the walls followed the brow of the hill, as was doubtless the case, could not be less than six miles. The pieces of wall which remain are composed of moderate-sized stones in regular courses, resembling those of Fiesole.

After traversing the whole length of the hill whereon Tarquinii stood, we crossed the valley and ascended to Corneto, which, however interesting for its palace, cathedral, and square towers, contains no monuments of classical antiquity. From Corneto we travelled to Toscanella, the ancient Tuscania, of which there are no remains above ground, but the town is celebrated for the tombs in its environs, which furnish the museums of Europe with vases and curiosities. We visited Signor Campanari, who resides there, and who formerly exhibited a vast collection of Etruscan curiosities in Pall Mall; he is constantly employed in opening sepulchres, selling the portable objects, and reserving the more weighty to adorn his own garden. He has fitted up a large cave with vases, sarcophagi, and ornaments, arranged precisely in the same manner as they had been in an Etruscan tomb. The cave is square, and surrounded by a ledge upon which are sarcophagi with recumbent figures resting upon them with their backs to the wall: upon the legs and bodies of the figures vases of different sizes are placed standing upright, and attached to nails in the wall immediately above the heads of the figures are bronze utensils of various forms, known to virtuosi under the titles of *specchj mistici*, *præfericula*, *strigils*, &c. The effect of this cave, containing the genuine objects of ancient art arranged in a place and style so closely resembling

the original, is in every respect admirable; and it is to be regretted that a somewhat similar disposition cannot be adopted in the British Museum, since the impression conveyed to the mind by seeing those objects which are usually crowded into glass-cases in museums, placed as they were originally found, is far more deep and lasting. On the top of a wall enclosing the garden of a hospital are arranged twelve figures of men and women the size of life, in the usual recumbent posture; one of them had an inscription carved on the cushion upon which he rested, and another held with both hands a scroll with three lines upon it. From Toscana we passed to Viterbo, where, in the court-yard of the museum, we saw six or eight similar figures, all resembling those Etruscan ones of stone in the British Museum, and retaining a faint tinge of the red paint which was intended to beautify their faces.

From Viterbo we visited Castel d' Asso, anciently Castellum Axia, and considered by Sir William Gell to be probably the necropolis of Voltumna, now Viterbo; at the distance of three miles from which we came to a valley of considerable width, bounded by precipitous rocky sides with a river at the bottom. The remains of a castle erected in the middle ages are visible at the junction of two valleys, but they are insignificant in extent, with no remarkable features in the building, and resembling in a great measure the ruins of feudal castles attached to old towns in England. A small branch of the main valley leads to the plain above, and on each side of this lesser valley, as well as for a few hundred yards to the right and left after reaching the main valley, very remarkable carvings in the rock are to be seen. It would seem that a man wishing to appropriate a tomb for himself, or building one for his friend, selected a portion of rock at the top of the cliff varying in height and width from ten to thirty or even forty feet, then smoothed the face of it, leaving the summit rough, but in all cases contriving to leave in relief upon the face of the rock a kind of door-case, but no door; for the real access to the sepulchral chamber is always some feet below this sham door; above the door-case there is a sort of rude entablature, and upon what may be called the frieze an inscription in Etruscan characters is occasionally found. On one side or other of each distinct monument there is a straight and narrow flight of steps; and it is difficult to assign any particular use to this appendage to each tomb, as the top of the monument is nothing more than bare rock left in its rough state; and they seem to have contented

Continuing our descent from the Ciminian lake we reached Ronciglione, which does not contain any antiquities, and indeed it is doubtful whether it be an ancient site, though Gell is inclined to suppose that there was an ancient population here, in order to account for some sepulchral chambers which are found in a rocky glen below the town. Hence a few miles bring the traveller to Sutri, the reputed birth-place of Pontius Pilate, situated on a long narrow strip of ground with a deep valley on each side; the houses are all built round the edge of the rock, and beneath their foundations fragments of Etruscan walls of tufo are distinguishable; and especially below a building now used as a prison several courses of stone appear, but the lines are straight, and there is nothing of a Cyclopiian style about the work, which, nevertheless, may be referred to the earliest period at which the spot was inhabited, and when once built would serve as substructions for any subsequent fortification. In the rocks of the valleys near Sutri are cut numbers of sepulchral caves; they are not however remarkable as having any particular form, but are rude and irregular, and wholly devoid of ornament. At a quarter of a mile from the Porta Romana there is a very remarkable amphitheatre cut in the rock; it is situated at the point of junction of two valleys, the piece of land which separates them becoming narrower and narrower, until it terminates in an abrupt rock: and here it is fair to conjecture that there had originally been a stone quarry, which when luxury and refinement increased, and the love for spectacles became universal, was fashioned by the Sutrians so as to form an excellent amphitheatre. The length of the oval extends almost from one valley to the other, but at the west end the entrance to the arena was by a short tunnel in the rock: at the east end the hollow of the theatre comes so near to the edge of the rock, that there is not even material to form an arch over the corresponding entrance, but it is of exactly the same width as the tunnel, and, like it, leads straight to the arena. In the tunnel to the right and left as one enters there is a passage which contains a flight of steps conducting to a "vomitorium," situated in the second "præcinctio;" but at the east end where there is no tunnel, the spectators had access to their seats by a straight covered passage at the side of the entrance to the arena, which led by means of steps from the valley below to an aperture corresponding with one of the "vomitoria" at the opposite end. Thus, the public had access to their places only by three covered ways, and the gladiators

&c. passed immediately to the arena, round which below the "podium" was a low gallery with openings at the two principal entrances; and this was probably used as a place of retirement for the performers, as in fact it led to nothing, the whole superincumbent mass being perfectly solid. The arena when we saw it was sown with corn, and, doubtless, by successive vegetation, raised far above its original level. With respect to the whole "cavea," it is to be borne in mind that there is no masonry whatever; where the rock happens to fail there the symmetry must fail also. For instance, on the northern side, besides the "podium" and two "præcinctiones," and a flat surface above the seats, all of which are complete all round, there is a high perpendicular wall of rock, and below it a slope upon which many persons could sit; whereas on the south side there is not near so much accommodation, because the hill falls away and is quite perpendicular outside, so that the spectators would be in danger of falling over unless protected by an artificial rail. It is remarkable that in many places, especially the higher parts of the "cavea," the seats are by no means well defined; this may arise, partly from the effect of weather in smoothing down the edges of the seats, partly from the circumstance of the amphitheatre, belonging as it did to an obscure provincial town, not being carefully completed: at all events, as it exists now, the dignified persons who occupied the lower "sedilia" would run the risk of being disturbed by the rude people who sat above them rolling down, so steep and ill-formed is the bank where the seats ought to be. There is a peculiarity in this theatre which we never observed in any other built in the usual manner; on the level of the lowest "præcinctio," at equal distances from the great entrances on both sides of the "cavea," two seats are visible, separated from the regular benches which form the "cunei," and placed in a kind of hollow in the rock, so that the persons occupying them (not more than two in each) were under a sort of alcove, and thus distinguished from the rest of the spectators. The length of the arena is about sixty paces, and the breadth thirty. In passing along the road to Rome from Sutri the amphitheatre would not be observed, for the division of the rock which serves as an entrance on that side is no way remarkable; but when once inside the effect is very striking, owing to the excellent preservation of all parts; and, in fact, our guide informed us that it had been used of late years for bull-baiting, or some such exhibition. It now forms part of the cuck-

sure of the gardens of a villa, and the southern side has been planted with a few trees which appear above the topmost seats. It may be worth while to mention also that the tunnel at the west end has been walled up externally, but that in no way interferes with the examination of the interior of the theatre.

From Sutri we returned to Ronciglione, and next day visited Capraruola, where there is a sumptuous palace built by the Farnese family in the sixteenth century, the windows of which command the entire Campagna of Rome: the landscape is bounded by the Alban hill to the south, with the Sabine range to the west, and much closer in the same direction, Mount Soracte, which was sacred to Apollo:

“Summe deùm, sancti custos Soractis Apollo.” *Æneid* xi. 785.

Leaving Capraruola, we proceeded through a wood in the direction of Cività Castellana, and about four miles short of that town approached Faleri from the west, and crossing a small stream which flows on the south side of the town, and falls into the Tiber near Cività Castellana, we observed on our left a number of apertures in the rocks, which, upon examination, proved to be tombs. They differed, both from those of Castel d' Asso and of Tarquinii, for the entrances were above ground like the door of a house, and on entering you do not descend, but find yourself at once in a square chamber with a rude pillar left in the rock to support the centre of the roof, and a low shelf all round the room, and round the central column also, which formerly served for the sarcophagi to rest upon, but at present many of these caves being used as stables, the shelf answers the purpose of a manger. We could not find the least trace of painting or sculpture on any of these grottos. It is remarkable that in one instance the rock has been cut away so nearly to the surface, that, either by accident or design, a hole has been made from the top, and thus the light shines in and discloses the thinness of the roof of rock. Grooves remain in the door-cases, seeming to point out that a stone door had been tightly fitted in; but in all cases the doors and every thing moveable have long disappeared. It is evident that the road to the town by these tombs was an ancient one, for it was cut deep in the rock, and led directly to one of the principal gates which is perfect, and is now called “Porta di Giove,” from a head, supposed to be that of Jupiter, carved upon the key-stone. The arch is formed of nineteen blocks of peperino of remarkable length and narrowness, and

these are surmounted by a handsome architrave springing from a well formed impost: the effect of this gate is very striking indeed, and reminded us extremely of certain arches in the cloister of St. Trophimus at Arles, which, being a city full of Roman remains, the ancient style may have been traditionally preserved. This gateway, which, according to Gell, is twenty-four feet high, and eleven wide, is flanked by two square towers that do not project internally beyond the thickness of the walls, and are similar to others occurring at irregular intervals all round the city. On the side where the Porta di Giove occurs the earth inside is raised to the top of the wall, so that you mount by a sloping bank and look down a depth of about thirty feet. The walls are built of tufo cut into rectangular blocks, and the courses, of which we counted in some places twelve, in others sixteen, are perfectly even. Except in the parts where there is a precipitous rock, scarcely any ditch is perceptible, and the wall is the only defence on the whole of the north and part of the eastern and western sides; no battlements remain to shew how the wall was finished. Soon after quitting the Gate of Jove, we came to a corner where the wall turns at a right angle, and presents a straight line on the north side broken only by three small posterns, which are arched, and would not admit more than two persons abreast: near the centre one a huge tomb resembling those on the Via Appia near Rome, and, like them, stripped of its external coating, remains, and a little beyond it is an oval mound, which has every appearance of having served as an amphitheatre, beyond which, turning again at a right angle, we reached the eastern side of the town, where there is a small gate whence issued the road in the direction of Civit  Castellana, and close to this road is a large monument of great solidity, in which the sepulchral chamber is still preserved. The wall on the south side follows the sinuosities of the valley, which is of considerable depth, and divides the city from what is designated by Gell the necropolis. We did not cross to this hill, but we could distinguish two very lofty tombs upon it, and, like the two others already mentioned, they doubtless belong to the imperial times. There is a principal gate called Porta del Bove, from an ox's head on the key-stone, and two smaller ones, all leading in the direction of the necropolis. The entire circuit of Faleri, not reckoning the sinuosities of the south side, amounts to a mile and one-third. But what renders these walls so remarkable is, that in no place have they any appearance of reparation or more recent construction.

excepting an occasional fissure, they might serve as fortifications at this day. And what do they contain? an abbey in ruins, and a few mounds of earth alone break the regularity of a cultivated field. The church of Santa Maria has been profusely adorned with marbles, and the west front is very rich and beautiful in the light Saxon style; but the stone roof has fallen in and laid bare the nave; the transepts are still covered, but serve only as shelter for cattle: no cost has been spared to make the edifice magnificent. The adjoining buildings of the monastery, now applied to farming purposes, were spacious and elegant; and the name of Cardinal Farnese, sculptured over many of the doors, bears testimony to the liberality of the princely house whose principal seat, Capraruola, was only a few miles distant.

From Faleri we regained the main road to Rome from Florence, (the ancient *via Cassia*), a little north of Monterosi, and proceeded round the bed of the lake Baccano, which has of late years been successfully drained, and is evidently the crater of a vast extinct volcano, until having traversed part of the hill forming the lip of the crater, we continued until we reached the twelfth milestone, and then turned off to the left to visit the site of Veii. As we passed through a narrow road cut deep in the rock, we observed some of the egg-shaped cavities, such as we had noticed at Ardea, though in this instance they had been broken in laterally; but the size, shape, and circular aperture at the top, were similar to those we had before remarked. Isola Farnese, supposed to be the site of the citadel of Veii, consists of a ruinous castle built by the Orsini, in the middle ages, and near it a few cottages placed at the end of a steep ridge of rock separating two valleys. Beyond the part occupied by the village, numerous caves, probably sepulchral, exist; but the hill on which Isola stands is separated from the high land where the city of Veii stood by a deep valley with a stream, called *Acqua Termale*, at the bottom of it. Up this valley we passed, when we had examined the hill of Isola, and came to a most picturesque fall of water near a mill. This is a favourite resort of painters; and a little above this we crossed the stream by an ancient bridge, and continued on the northern side of Veii until we came into another valley, which divided the city from its necropolis, and then crossed the *Cremera*, a stream which was formerly much more considerable than at present, being fed by the waters of the lake Baccano; it runs immediately below a steep bank forming the boundary of Veii on the north-east. We observed

the spot called by Gell the *Lavatojo*, or washingplace; there are a number of rocky basins filled by the river, and it is a convenient place for the performance of what in ancient days was not deemed unworthy of damsels of the highest rank. See *Odyssey*, vi. 85,

Αἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ποταμοῖο ῥέον περικαλλέ' ἴκοντο,
 "Ἐνθ' ἦτοι πλυνοὶ ἦσαν ἐπηγεταοί, πολὺ δ' ὕδωρ
 Καλὸν ὑπεκπρορείει, μάλα περ ῥυτύνοντα καθήραι.

A little beyond is the "*Ponte Sodo*," formed by a short tunnel being cut in the rock to receive the *Cremera*, which would otherwise stray in the valley, but is hereby confined to its channel, and serves as a moat to the city: of course, a gate and towers must have defended this natural bridge, but there can be no doubt that the tunnel is artificial; at one of its ends is a ferruginous spring, staining the sand around it of a deep red colour. On the other side of the valley is a hill, called *Vaccarecia*, which was evidently the necropolis of *Veii*, for numberless tombs have been discovered there, though the bank does not present a very uneven appearance, because, as soon as an excavation has been made, and the moveables taken away, the hole is filled up. There is no appearance of tumuli here as at *Tarquini*, save a very large one somewhat removed from the necropolis, which is so considerable that it is seen from a distance in the *Campagna*. The difference between the relative position of the necropolis of *Veii* and that of *Tarquini*, consists in the far larger scale of the hills and the intervening valley at the latter, and at the former the hill of tombs is to the N.W. of the city, whereas at *Tarquini* it lies to the S. The landlord of a small inn at *Isola* keeps the key of a tomb in the necropolis, which was opened a few months ago at the expense of Signor *Campana*, who possesses the finest collection of *Etruscan* gold ornaments in *Rome*. There was reason to suppose that this sepulchre had been opened at a period when nothing save the gold was thought worth carrying off, for no valuable ornaments were found in it, but in other respects it had no appearance of having been disturbed; such, however, as it was found, it is to be seen at this day. A little below the brow of the hill we entered a passage open to the sky, six feet wide, and proceeding a few paces, reached the modern doorway, which covers the original entrance, thereby destroying the effect which is so well preserved at *Tarquini*; but after entering, one may observe that the original door-case is arched in masonry, the stones are irregularly arranged, and the key-stone

not being well defined, it seems as if the arch had been the result of chance, rather than one formed upon scientific principles. The first chamber is about fifteen feet square, and has a door facing the principal entrance and leading to the inner chamber; on the right and left of the entrance is a stone bier, three feet high and seven feet in length, and upon one of them is a bronze helmet, pierced in such a manner as may have caused the death of the wearer; on both are spear-heads of iron and sword-blades very much rusted; the bodies of the warriors have been reduced to dust, but it is remarkable that neither greaves, nor breast-plate, nor shield, are to be seen. There is no inscription upon any part of the tomb, and the walls of the outer chamber are perfectly plain; its height is about seven feet; in the corners are rude vases almost black, and of a form by no means elegant. The inner chamber is likewise square, but smaller than the other: on the wall opposite the door is a painting in a kind of pattern of circles in rude imitation of mosaic, which was evidently intended to be seen immediately on entering the sepulchre; all round this chamber is a low shelf, upon which stand large vases and three chests of terra cotta, of the colour of common brick, resembling trunks with rounded lids: they are two feet in length and one and a half in height, and by way of handles to the covers there are ornaments resembling a human head. These receptacles for burnt bones are similar to some in the vestibule of the Etruscan Museum in the Vatican.

Having examined this, the only tomb preserved at Veii, we descended from the necropolis, and crossed the Cremera at a ford where there are traces of an ancient bridge, and a winding road leads up to the table-land where the city stood. On the right, on ascending by this road, we observed a large rock presenting perpendicular fronts covered with "columbaria" cut in the stone. These are little alcoves with a flat shelf, in which is a small cavity to hold ashes: thus, we may conclude that on the brow of the hill was a gate, between which and the bridge this spot was chosen as a suitable place of sepulture.

The north side of the site of Veii is covered with a wood that renders the search for the city walls more difficult, but a little above the before-mentioned columbarium we noticed a small piece of wall among the bushes, the stones were rectangular, but the courses irregular. We now reached the high ground once occupied by Veii; a deep lane traverses nearly the whole length of it, and near it in one part we remarked fragments of brick-work,

probably belonging to the Roman municipium, as did the marble columns which now adorn the modern post-office in Rome. At the southern extremity of the site of Veii is a flat oblong hill connected with it by a sort of isthmus, and called by the peasants "Piazza d' Armi." In its present state it might serve as an exercise ground for troops: in one corner excavations have brought to light the foundations of some houses. In the small valley dividing the "Piazza d' Armi" from the hill of the city is a very perfect flight of steps leading from the town down to a spring. On the southwest side the hill is very steep and the descent rapid to the Acqua Thermale, which we crossed a little above the junction of that stream with the Cremera. On quitting Veii for Rome, in order to get out of the valley we passed through what is called the Arco di Pino; this is formed by the perforation of the rock where had been originally a huge cave, the entrance to which had probably been closed with masonry now gone; but in the natural roof of the cavern is a hole wide enough for a man to pass through, and lined with bricks; one would suppose this was to give light and air to the vault beneath, but what was originally a cave is now converted into a natural arch. Moreover, the cut where the old road passed from the plain above into the valley is distinguishable.

From this point we were soon able to gain the Via Cassia, and resume our journey to Rome.

F. BUXTON WHALLEY.

XXVII.

ON THE RHYTHMICAL DECLAMATION OF THE ANCIENTS.

“ΠΑΤΗΡ μέτρον ῥυθμὸς καὶ Θεός,” says Longinus, or whoever he be that wears the privilege of this name in the notes to Hephaestion, “The Father of metre,” as we may render it a little more antithetically and more philosophically also, “is RHYTHM, the Father of Rhythm is God.” The principle of order, indeed, in all things is the necessary expression of that unity which is the characteristic of mind; and mind, through whatever complicated machinery or multiplied personality it may reveal itself, is at bottom the mere instrument and tool of the divine energy. To shew how this divine principle of order manifested itself in the enunciation of articulated speech among the ancient Greeks and Romans, is the object of the few following observations.

The subject is not, as some may be apt to imagine, a trifling one. Nothing in God's world is trifling except in the hands of a trifler. It is a curious subject, out of the way a little perhaps, but not on that account destitute of interesting human bearings, or barren of important practical results. Minute metrical and grammatical studies have done essential injury to the character of British scholarship, not because they have been pursued eagerly, but because they have been pursued exclusively—because they were rested in as an end, not used as a means. “*Non obstant hæ disciplinæ per illas euntibus sed circa illas hærentibus*,” says Quintilian. Whatsoever relates to the music of speech, to the harmonious expression of high thought in a living soul, must ever be a subject not merely of curious remark to the scholar, but of subtle inquiry to the metaphysician, and of sublime contemplation to the philosopher.

The subject is also, to a certain extent, a difficult one; but the difficulty happily does not lie so much in any essential and inherent obscurity as in these merely relative circumstances: (1). That of the few men who devote themselves to speculating in any country, the majority will naturally prefer speculations on the faculties of the human mind themselves, to the philosophy of that which is merely the expression of these faculties, viz. Language. (2). Of the few who devote themselves to the study of language, *whether* as philosophers, scholars, or practical elocutionists, very

we possess that combination of speculative ingenuity, erudite research, and living experience, which is necessary to avoid one-sided, and to acquire comprehensive views of so curious a subject. Scholars are not always—the scholars of the English Porsonian school certainly were not—very profound philosophers; and English elocutionists, even when, like Thomas Sheridan and Walker, they may philosophize most ingeniously in their own department, are very seldom profound scholars; while, from the strange neglect or preposterous subordination of the English language, long so common in British grammar-schools, it has happened most seldom of all that our great Greek and Latin scholars were good practical elocutionists. When to all this we add, that some notion of music, and of its general relation to poetry, is essential to the proper understanding of the philosophy of ancient rhythmical recitation¹; we shall not be surprised to find that within the narrow compass of the human throat and mouth there has been much matter for a more cumbrous up-piling of erudite blunders, and busy weaving of ingenious crotchets, than the domain of any remotest and most extensive province of metaphysical speculation exhibits. *Nihil est tam absurdum quod non dixerit aliquis philosophorum*:—the greatest recorded nonsense in the English language is to be found in the books of learned men who have spent their lives in a solemn academical jugglery with accent and quantity, Penthemimeral cæsuras and Cretic endings, Dochmiac verses, and Antispastic strophes.

In the remarks which follow we shall cut a long discussion short in the threshold, by setting out with one or two definitions.

What do we mean by ACCENT?

What do we mean by QUANTITY?

What do we mean by RHYTHM?

And what by METRES?

FIRST, as to Accent. ACCENT means the following things.

(1). It means the pitch of the voice as high or low, acute or grave, the tune or tone of articulated speech; and this it means in a triple application. *First*, it has this meaning with respect to the syllables of a word; the syllabic accent. *Second*, it has this meaning with respect to the word or words of a sentence, the clause of an oratorical period. One clause of a period we say

¹ "Tum nec citra musicen grammaticæ | misque dicendum sit." QUINCTILIAN
otest esse perfecta, cum de metris ryth- 1. 4.

is spoken in a high key, another in a low. *Thirdly*, it has this meaning, partly at least, in respect to the character of national or provincial enunciation. Thus when we talk of the Scotch accent, or the Glasgow twang, we mean a certain tone or tune to which the Scotch or the Glasgow people are accustomed as it were to sing their sentences².—That the pitch of the voice, as high or low, in a series of syllables compared among themselves, is the proper and original signification of accent, will be immediately shewn; in the meantime we may only remark, that this is the sense in which the word is used by Mr. Steele in his very ingenious work the *Prosodia Rationalis*, and also by Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Chapman, and all writers, both English and foreign, who have approached the subject of rhythmical language from its proper portal, Music³. Mr. Foster also, the Cambridge scholar, author of the famous controversial work on Accent and Quantity, uses the word accent in this sense.

(2). Accent means superior stress or energy of vocal utterance given to certain syllables of a word, or words of a sentence, in comparison of those with which they are connected. In the case of syllables, the accent is specially called syllabic; in the case of sentences, it corresponds with what is perhaps more commonly called the oratorical emphasis. This is the sense in which accent is commonly used in our pronouncing dictionaries, when we say, for instance, a word is accented on the penult, or on the antepenult. In this sense, accordingly, it is exclusively used by Mr. Walker; the other phenomena of voice, which Mr. Steele and his followers express by the term accent, he discusses not less philosophically under the title of the rising and falling inflection. Thomas Sheridan, also, in his ingenious and excellent work, *The Art of Reading* (2nd edition. London, 1781), uses the word exclusively in this sense.

* "*Cantus quidam dicendi*," Cicero. See below, note 12, a well-known passage.

² The very ingenious and philosophical works where elocution is treated on musical principles, which I have consulted, are these :—

(1) *Prosodia Rationalis*; or an essay towards establishing the melody and measure of speech to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar symbols, by Joshua Steele. London, 1775, 2nd edit. 1779.

(2) *Illustrations of English Rhythmus*, by John Thelwall. London, 1812.

(3) *The Musick or Melody and Rhythmus of Language*, by the Rev. James Chapman. Edin. 1818.

(4) *Rhythmical Grammar*, by the same. Ditto, 1821.

(5) *The Principles of Rhythm*, both in *Speech and Music*, by Richard Roe. Dublin, 1823.

(3). Accent, with modern writers on music, is employed to denote that prominence which, by means of a more marked tonic impulse ("rhythmical pulsation:" ROE), is given by a singer or player to one note of a series of notes called a bar, above the other notes of the bar. The accented and unaccented, or, as they are frequently termed in modern phraseology, the strong and the weak parts of a bar, correspond to the *thesis* and *arsis* of the ancient musicians; the *thesis* being the position, or *laying* on of the tonic stress, the *arsis* the taking off, or uplifting of the same—*Niedertakt* and *Auftakt*, as the Germans say, the *down* part and the *up* part of the bar⁴. It is remarkable, and carefully to be noted, that Bentley and the modern metricians use these technical terms in an exactly opposite sense; they by *arsis* understanding the accented syllable, the syllable whereon the metrical accent (*ictus metricus*) falls, and by *thesis* the unaccented. Let this serve as a specimen of the perplexities in which the grammarians, acting for themselves independently of their lawful masters, the musicians, have involved every part of the plain and simple doctrine of Rhythm.

SECOND, as to Quantity. QUANTITY (if we except Scaliger's wide use of the word⁵) has happily only one meaning on paper. The confusion begins only with many persons when reference is made to the ear, the original and only proper witness in the case.

⁴ I have called the accent a more marked tonic impulse. I do not say it is in all cases necessarily a *stronger* impulse. "When we listen to the beats of a watch we are at first disposed to reckon them by pairs; and we invariably find that the first of each pair is considered by us as a strong and the other as a feeble sound. We may be easily satisfied, however, that this is not owing to any real inequality in the force of the sound; because we can often reverse this order by fixing the attention upon one of our feeble sounds, and considering it as the first of a parcel. After we have listened for some time to the beats according to this new arrangement, we still find that the first of each pair is strong and the other feeble." *Essay on Rhythmical Measures*, by Walter Young, Minister of the gospel at Erskine: Edinburgh Royal Society Transactions, Vol. II. part II. p. 61. Aristides'

account of musical accent is quite to the same effect. 'Ρυθμός ἐστὶ σύστημα ἐκ χρόνων κατὰ τινα τάξιν συγκειμένων. Καὶ τὰ τούτων πάθη καλοῦμεν ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν, ψόφον καὶ ἡρεμίαν. καθόλου γὰρ τῶν φθόγγων διὰ τὴν ὁμοίτητα τῆς κινήσεως ἀνέμφατον τὴν τοῦ μέλους ποιούμενων πλοκήν, καὶ εἰς πλάνην ἀγόντων τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ μέρη τὴν δύναμιν τῆς μελωδίας ἐναργῆ καθίστησι. *De Mus.* p. 31. Meibom. i.e. It is the business of accent to emphasize a continuous succession, distinguishing it into a succession of strong and weak parts.

⁵ "Quantitas tripliori dimensione constituitur, longâ, latâ, altâ." *De Causis Ling. Lat.* c. 52. Thus, with him quantity is a general term expressing the *how much* (quantus) of extension (our quantity), aspiration (for this is what he means by breadth), and intension (accent), any particular word contains.

The quantity of enunciated sound is, in the language of grammarians and rhetoricians, the how much (*quantus*) or how little of duration or extension given to any particular moment of that enunciation in comparison of the rest. So in the word *glory*, the vowel in the first syllable has a long quantity, in the second a short (a Trochee); in the word to *renew* the first syllable is short, the second long (an Iambus); in the word *ever* both the vowels are short; in the word *femāle* both are long (a Spondee).

THIRD. The next matter to be defined is Rhythm. What is RHYTHM? and what are METRES? Some writers, and many especially of the English school, use *rhythmical* in opposition to *metrical*, and understand thereby merely a lower and more rude sort of versification. Thus the admirers of Pope, at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, were accustomed to praise his verses as the perfection of polished metre, while Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, and so many others whom we now honour, were ridiculed as the affected imitators of the rude "rhythmical versification" of the old ballads. But this application of the word rhythm, however justified by certain favourite forms of contradistinction among the ancient grammarians*, is, in philosophical language, incorrect; inasmuch as rhythm, in its original and only scientific acceptation, comprehends all metre, as genus does the species, and can never be opposed to it, any more than an animal can be to a horse. No metre indeed is conceivable without rhythm. Rhythm is the intellectual, innate, or transcendental law of progression in a movement, according to those principles of beauty which plastically inform the universe; metres are the individual parts of that movement as they are produced by the operation of that law,—parts conceived indeed to exist separately by the understanding, but having, in fact, no significance, no existence, except in combination with other parts, as vital units of an organized whole. Our metaphysical poet personifies the

* "*Si qua autem apud poetas lyricos aut tragicos quisquam repererit, in quibus certā pedum conlatione neglectā, sola temporum ratio considerata sit, meminerit, ea sicut apud doctissimos quosque Scriptum invenimus, non METRA sed RHYTHMOS appellari oportere.*" Mallius Theo-

dorus, *Script. Lat. rei metricæ*. Gaisford. Oxon. 1837. p. 527. For the true inference to be drawn from this and not a few other passages to the same effect, see the admirable little tract of Fuessner, quoted below, note 18.

controlling principle of rhythm in the universe, when he talks

**"Spirits of plastic power that interfused,
Roll through the grosser and material mass
In organizing surge." Cor**

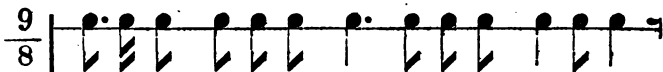
COLERIDGE.

may see therefore what an unskilful and unscientific proceeding was in certain old Greek scholiasts, and more modern Greek scholars, at the head of whom stands Burney, to set about arranging the odes of Pindar and the choruses of Æschylus according to the empirical nomenclature of motley metres (for I can call it nothing better), without regard to any controlling and over-riding principle of rhythm. To talk of metres without rhythm, as the syllable-counting generation of Prosodians have so often done, is to talk of a body without a soul, of a world without a God⁷.

Edward Manwaring, in the year 7, assaying to make "a recovery of the in, Greek, and Hebrew numbers," on principles of musical rhythm, was afraid to write: "I dare assert Hesiod has not one reduction right in his chapter of Antispasts." (*Stichology*, p. 47). The reverend Stichologist not succeed altogether in his rhythmical reductions of the discordant metres the grammarians; but he seems to have been led by a happy instinct to select that antispastic chapter of Hephæstus (c. x.) as the surest butt of his ridicule. Accordingly, in due course of time, he smothered them down to moderate dimensions; and when Boeckh in 1811 read of what Bursley in 1809 (*Tentamen de metris Æschyli*. Cantab.) had not laboriously doing to restore them to their lost dignity, he had merely time to

exclaim "*Ægrismonia!*" (*De Met. Pind.* Lib. II. c. 149), and coolly passed on his way. I do not know indeed in the wide world of books a more pitiful example of thoughtless-thoughtful laboriousness than that book of Burney's. To my understanding, Apel, in his *Metrik*, (1st edit. 1814-16), with the simple enunciation that Dochmiac verse is triple time, did more towards the intelligent enjoyment of an Æschylean chorus by a modern ear, than all the Antispastic doctors from Hephaestion to Burney put together. Who, for instance, that has ever heard a stirring overture, or whistled a brisk tune, can doubt that the following Dochmiac Dimeter, from the first chorus of the *Seven against Thebes*, consists of rapidly executed bars of triple time?

Ῥεῖ πολὺς ὁδὸς λεὴς πρόδρομοι ἱππότες.



is fact, which the instinct of the ear
teach any man, Burney might have
strated, if he pleased, by the musical
sciples of Aristides and Aristoxenus,
by instances from modern practice ;
to take a mere metrical text from
phaesion, and turn it outside and in-
, and over and under in every possible
of metaphrase and metamorphosis,
give it out to the world as a sort of

discovery in ancient literature: what was this but with solemn preparation to build up an Epos of syllabic legerdemain, and to sound an oratorio with a baby's rattle and an academical fool's cap? "We want a guide," said a sensible critic to Burney in the *Classical Journal*, so early as 1811—"We want a guide, and you give us a *harlequin*!"

These scientific definitions being premised, we ask now, What were those peculiarities of Greek and Roman speech in respect of accent, quantity, and rhythm, which gave them a distinctive character as contrasted with modern tongues, and invests them to the philosophic enquirer with a peculiar and almost unique interest? This question, which might otherwise have been purely speculative, from the strong infusion of an antique element that characterizes our European, and more particularly our British education, assumes a directly practical bearing; and it is as a matter of most serious and immediate interest in the practical detail of education in this country, much more than as a matter of curious scientific enquiry, that I am now anxious to bring it in the present succinct shape personally and professionally before the friends of classical education in Great Britain⁸.

In the first place, then, as to the living practice of the ancients in these matters, a fierce crusade was once and again instituted by certain redoubtable scholars against the Greek accents, which, it was conceived, were utterly at variance with the laws of quantity laid down by the bench of Prosodians; and that to admit their authority was to change that sweet flow of Sapphic and Alcaic voices into a mad play of hissing and spitting jets and jerks of inharmonious sound—to convert the minstrel of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with his majestic march of Dactylic sonorosity, into a halting and tripping prosaist, or at best a shallow-tinkling ballad-monger. The book of the learned and eccentric Isaac Vossius, *De poematum Cantu et viribus rhythmī* (Oxon. 1673), is one of the earliest⁹,

⁸ A few years ago I put my first thoughts on some points of this subject into print in the shape of an article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 241-294. The principles laid down in that paper are substantially those to which I still adhere, only with regard to Porson and the illegitimate anapaests, I should now be inclined to be considerably less zealous in defence of them than I then was; convinced as I now am that in variety and freedom of versification the ancients were in many genera inferior to ourselves. The Asclepiadean verse of Horace, for instance, compared with any of our modern lyric rhythms, is to my ear most stupidly monotonous.

⁹ I say one of the earliest: but when Mr. Foster says, "I am not able to dis-

cover that the faithfulness and propriety of the Greek accentual remarks was ever much doubted before the time of Isaac Vossius," he might have qualified the assertion a little, by recalling the curious and contemptuous declaration of Scaliger, not indeed against the faithfulness and propriety, but against the excellence and reasonableness of that ancient music of speech: *Ac quod ad nostra quidem tempora attinet nihil turpius putamus quam cantiunculis et vocularum tremulis assultibus gesticulari. Itaque servatâ temporum duntaxat ratione, severioribus sæculis omissus est fœmineus ille tinnitus unoque ductu multæ voces eodem tenore pronunciatae.*" This is a passage ready made as it were for Isaac Vossius; and Dr. Gally did not fail, if my recollection

certainly the most eloquent, of these modern philippics against the ancient triple phalanx of ACUTE, GRAVE, and CIRCUMFLEX, in classical speech. What immediate effect this book produced in England, I have no means of saying, but the doctrine contained in it seems to have exercised no inconsiderable influence on the ingenious though imperfect and partial work of Manwaring, published in 1737, on the *Miscellanea Critica* of Dawes, published in 1745, and the stupid tract of Dr. Gally, (*A Dissertation against Greek Accents*), published in 1754. Of these, the first, though he did not deny the existence of the spoken accent, flattered himself that he had solved all the difficulties of ancient metrics by simply dividing the syllables of a verse into equal musical bars, while the third anathematized the Aristophanic marks altogether, and interdicted them from all fellowship of polite learning, as a barefaced imposition and a Byzantine barbarism. Dr. Gally seems through the whole of his book to have had no clear idea of what accent was, or what quantity was; but he certainly deserved one great praise, that of consistency, which belongs not to many of us in the year 1843; he prevailed so far as to get some books printed at Oxford without the accents; we print them most conscientiously, but we seldom or never use them. However, there is no question that, in point both of judgment and learning, Mr. Foster, in 1761, with his famous work on Accent and Quantity, was more than a match for the Oxonian doctor; but the victory which his discretion had gained was greatly endangered a few years afterwards (in 1764) by the indiscriminating zeal with which Mr. Primatt, in his *Accentus Redivivi*, asserted the exclusive right of accent to regulate the pronunciation of Greek prose, whatever might come of poetry. This extreme of the question, however, was not the one most likely to be over-palatable in a country where Bentley had so recently given the doctrine of metres such a prominence in polite scholarship; and where Dawes had, within the hearing of every scholar then alive, denounced all the champions of accents publicly as "*barbariei plusquam Scythicæ fautores*"—the patrons

serves me right, to turn other passages of the same work to his own advantage. But how impertinent and how vain a thing is mere *a priori* logic in a question of the living uses of language! The

second book of the celebrated work *De Causis Linguae Latinae* (I have not read the others) is certainly a very meagre and inconclusive affair.

of a more than Scythian barbarism¹⁰. We shall not be surprised therefore if we find the Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1796, writing his very judicious and learned Essay¹¹ on the prosodies of the Greek and Latin languages, without having seen Primatt; and we shall rejoice also to perceive that, with this work, the noisy beating of the air and fulmination of grammatical bulls and counter-bulls against accent on the one hand and quantity on the other, in this country ceases. The practice indeed of our schools and universities, mongrel and monstrous as that was and is, remained unchanged; but, since the appearance of Horsley's tract, the steady conviction seems to have remained with all rational scholars, that *the living speech of the ancients, both in prose and verse, was regulated both by accent and quantity, whether we moderns know the exact rule on which that regulation proceeded in any particular case, or whether we know it not*. This proposition therefore we shall assume, the proof being ready in the most obvious places of Cicero, Dionysius, and Quintilian, if any body wants it. A more difficult question it may seem, what the ancients exactly meant by ACCENT. Did they mean elevation of the pitch of the voice, or intension of its energy, a higher key, or a greater stress, or did they perhaps mean both? That the idea of greater or less elevation of pitch was their main idea seems to me so certain, on a review of all the authorities, that I shall say nothing here on the subject beyond setting down the testimonies themselves, from Cicero to Gerard Vossius, in a note¹². Indeed,

¹⁰ The main proposition of Primatt's book was in the teeth of Dawes' distinct assertion, "*ipsos Græcos sermonem non minus pedestrem quam versibus conclusum justa syllabarum tempora pronuntiare solitos*," (*Miscellanea Crit.* § III); and this no sound scholar could deny, as it stands everywhere on the surface of Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius.

¹¹ In mentioning this excellent little work as we have done in the text, we would not be understood as expressing any agreement with that peculiar method of reading Greek by neglecting the accents in certain cases, which is detailed in the concluding propositions of the Essay.

¹² (1). *Est autem in dicendo etiam quidam CANTUS OBSCURIOR, non hic e*

Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus pæne canticum: sed ille quem significat Demosthenes et Æschines, quum alter alteri obijcit VOCIS FLEXIONES (Walker's rising and falling inflexion). *Ipsa etiam natura quasi modularetur hominum orationem in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem, nec una plus, nec a postrema syllaba oītra tertiam.* (N.B. There are two errors here: for long words, like long bars of music, have two accents, a primary and secondary, and in the next place, not nature, but the usage of the Greek and Roman languages, prevents the acute accent from ever going further back than the antepenultimate syllable.) CICERO, *Orat.* XVIII.

(2). Διαλέκτου μέλος οὔτε ἐπιτείνεται.

the etymology of the terms accent and prosody (*accino*, προσάδω) as well as the plain and obvious meaning of the terms *acute* and *grave*, seem, without going further, sufficient of themselves to establish this. But may it not have been the case also, that while the idea of a difference of pitch was the main idea of the word, it included also, as co-existent, and consubstantial, if we may so speak, the common English idea of comparative stress of voice and energy of vocal utterance? This is the opinion of Goettling, the author of a standard German work on Greek accents, lately translated into English¹²; only he inverts the order of dominancy, making that which we call principal accessary, and that which we call accessary principal. "In every independent and primitive language," says he, "the principal idea of each word is distinguished by a *strengthening* or *invigoration* of the sound. This is called the accent; consequently, in λέω, the principal idea λέγ must be distinguished above the subordinate idea ω by the accent. Every intension of the voice however is involuntarily combined with an elevation of the tone. For pronouncing the accent therefore the voice must at the same time be elevated. Intension, however, is the main point." Now, without stopping here to discuss learnedly with this German whether intension of the energy or elevation of the pitch of the voice in accent be the *main* idea signified by that word, according to the use of the ancients, I shall only say shortly, that I think him perfectly right in his assertion

πέρα τῶν τριῶν τόνων καὶ ἡμιτονίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξὺ ὅτε ἀνίσταται τοῦ χαρίου τοῦτου πλείον ἐπὶ τὸ βαρὺ. Dionysius Hal. περὶ συνθ. ὀνομ. xi.

(3). *Accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa orationis elatio, vocisve intentio vel inclinatio, acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba. Nam ut nulla vox sine vocali, ita sine accentu nulla est. Et est accentus, ut quidam recte putaverunt, velut anima vocis.* Diomedes, Lib. 11. p. 425, ed. Putsch. Compare Priscian, *De accentibus*, p. 1286, ed. Putsch.

(4). *Accentus est certa lex sive regula ad elevandam deprimendamve syllabam unius cujusque particule orationis accommodato.* DESPAUTER, *Ars Versificatoria*, 1510. Lib. iv.

(5). *Accentus est pronunciandi ratio quâ syllaba vel attollitur vel deprimitur, ac proprio nomine ΤΟΝΟΣ vocatur.*

G. J. VOSSII, *Grammat. Lat. Amstelod.* 1651.

In all which descriptions or definitions we see not a hint of that confusion of *accent* and *quantity*, which has so bemuddled the wits of many erudite moderns. But how easily even a philosophic mind may slide into a confusion of this kind, let the following quotation from Thiersch testify: "*Da das Wort selbst ein Ton, Klang ein einfacher oder mehrfacher ist, je nachdem es eine oder mehrere Sylben hat, so wird jenes Vorherrschen (the predominance of the accented syllable), für das Ohr durch eine grössere INNIGKEIT oder DAUER desjenigen Tones der die Stammsylbe ausmacht, ausgedrückt werden.*" *Griechische Grammatik*, § 42.

¹² *Elements of Greek Accentuation.* London, Whittaker. 1831.

that the ancient accent included both these ideas; and that for the following reasons:—

(1). If there be no physiological necessity in all cases—as certainly there is not¹⁴—there is in the common case a very natural tendency in the human voice where it elevates its tone there also to strengthen its energy.

(2). The ancient grammarians, musicians, and rhetoricians, in speaking of the accents, use not merely the terms *elevation* and *depression*, but also, and as frequently, the terms *ἐντασις* and *ἀνασις*, which mean strictly not merely a *lengthening*, but a *strengthening* of the voice in an upward direction; not merely a *sinking*, but a *weakening* of the voice in a downward direction. This seems very like what we call greater or less *stress* of the voice on a particular syllable.

(3). It is a fact in literary history, that the ecclesiastical Latin poetry of the middle ages, and the political verses of the Byzantine Greeks, while paying no regard to the ancient quantities, were formed exactly upon the accentuation of the ancients. Thus, in the following two lines from the poetical Chronicle of Constantine Manasses;

ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παντέλεις καὶ παντοκρίστωρ λόγος
τὸν οὐρανὸν τὴν ἄναστρον παρήγαγεν ἀρχῆθεν,

the observation of the accent brings out a measure precisely the same as our old ballad-verse of fifteen syllables; and in the well-known trochaic triplet,

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæcum in favilla
Teste David et Sibylla—

while the correct Latin accent, according to the rules given by Cicero and Quintilian, is in all cases preserved, in one or two places the quantity is violated. But the accent which marks the rhythm of the verse is not merely or mainly an elevation of the voice, but it is a discernible increase of its vigour on certain syllables. Therefore the ancient accent had such a stress.

On the subject of *Quantity*, as a part of the system of ancient pronunciation, we have less to observe, as there is no dispute between

¹⁴ Mr. Walker gives very appositely the instance—*Did I say satisfactorily?* and other such interrogative sentences, as a proof that the voice often rises on the syllables that follow that which receives the

stress of the voice. But in common cases he admits that elevation of tone, and increase of vigour in the pronunciation of English words, coincide.

the ancients and the moderns, about the precise technical meaning of that term. The ancients understood by it prolongation of the voice in respect of time upon any particular syllable : and so do we. There is one vulgar error, however, which, as it has caused an immense deal of misapprehension as to the nature of Greek poetry and music, must be particularly noted. This error consists in the statement of the common books on prosody, that there are two quantities, and two only, in metres, the long and the short, and that one long is exactly equal to two shorts. Now this statement, taken generally, and without the necessary discrimination, by the modern Prosodians, on trust from Victorinus, Diomedes, and the other solemn brethren of the ancient fraternity of metricians, has been so understood by Burney and other modern English writers, who have undertaken to give us an account of the music of the Greeks, that, according to them, we are to believe these ancients had only two times in their lyrical compositions, a crotchet and a quaver, whereas the moderns have notes of all different durations, as the freedom of nature and the propriety of expression may dictate. What sad work Burney does make of this, any person may see in the Introduction to his *History of Music*, Vol. I.¹⁵ But how stands the fact? *A non posse ad non esse valet consequentia*. Let us say at once, unceremoniously, in the face of the whole generation of Prosodians, ancient and modern, that the thing is, in the nature of human speech, impossible. True, any old song-book or any modern psalm-book may shew us that many of the best and simplest old airs are sung with only two kinds of notes, a short and a long, call them what you please; and in an equable and measured style of singing, there is no question that one of these long notes, if the ear of the singer be exact, is, as a general rule, exactly equal to two of the shorts. But for producing very solemn effects on the one hand, or very stirring effects on the other, whether in oratory or singing, a variety of notes, some of very protracted duration, and others very light, nimble, and momentary in their impression, are psychologically and physiologically necessary. In regard to singing, every song when sung with expression and character, whatever be the notation in the book, even the most solemn and equable, will shew this. In regard to oratory, or recitation, not only will a correct ear clearly discern, besides, single and double quantity, triple, quad-

¹⁵ See what I have said of Burney in the *F. Q. R.* Vol. XXIII. p. 253. Article above referred to.

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ruple, quintuple, octuple, and various other proportions of vocal duration; but some of our most distinguished practical elocutionists and writers on the philosophy of language have found it necessary to adopt the musical notation of minims, crotchets, quavers, and semiquavers, with their respective rests¹⁶, to explain accurately the principles of correct declamation. These writers will be found enumerated in a previous note; and we may now perhaps indulge ourselves in the certain hope, that under the inspiring guidance of Mainzer and Hullah the divorce which has so long subsisted between music and elocution in this country will no longer be allowed to remain. As for the ancient poets and singers, we might without any labour of research make bold to say, that they were not monsters, rather than that the grammarians were infallible. But the fact is, the grammarians themselves furnish us with the most distinct proof that the whole mystery of quantity is not contained in the prosodial shibboleth, — = ∪ ∪.

For, says Victorinus "*inter METRICOS et MUSICOS propter spatia temporum quæ syllabis comprehenduntur, non PARVA DISSENSIO EST. Nam Musici non omnes inter se longas aut breves pari mensura consistere, siquidem et brevi brevior et longa longior dicunt posse syllabam fieri; metrici autem, prout cujusque syllabæ longitudo ac brevitās fuerit, ita temporum spatia definiri, neque brevi brevior et longā longior quam natura in syllabarum enuntiatione protulit posse aliquam reperiri. Ad hæc Musici qui temporum arbitrio syllabas committunt in rhythmicis modulationibus, aut lyricis cantibus, per circuitum longius extentæ pronuntiationis tam longis longiores quam rursus per corruptionem breviores brevibus proferunt. Afferunt etiam exempla quæ in metricis pedibus secum faciant asserentes accessione consonantium momenta temporum crescere*"¹⁷. It appears therefore that

¹⁶ Many of our metricians and prosodians, taking no account of rests and pauses, of course fail to discern what the real rhythm or movement of any passage of ancient poetry was—but there is no question that the *κενοὶ χρόνοι* empty times, or *λείμματα* as they were called, belong as much to the proper scansion of a line as the *full* times. Aristides mentions them expressly, and St Augustine is very minute, only one must not apply them at random merely to fill up a bar, as Manwaring does in Hor. Ode 1. 2.

Stichology, p. 37.

¹⁷ It will be carefully observed here, that the nice metrical question argued also by Dionysius (*περί. συνθ.* c. 15) whether *e. g.* the *ε* in *ὑπερβάσσω* be not longer than that in *ὑπερβάλλω*, by reason of the additional consonant, was not the point at issue between the musicians and the metricians. They merely adduced this as an *argumentum ad hominem*; and a very good argument unquestionably it was, as the whole doctrine of length by position was founded on it.

the ancient musicians would in no case allow the slump doctrine of the Prosodians, that one long is always equal to two shorts, but asserted stoutly that there were all varieties of long and short syllables—*arbitrio temporum*; and what does Victorinus say to this? He does not meet the point at all; but gives it the go by. “SED HÆC SCRUPULOSITAS, continues he, RHYTHMICIS ET MUSICIS RELINQUATUR; *et ut dicimus omnes Germanos longos esse quamvis non sint omnes ejusdem stature*”—as we say all the Germans are tall, though they are not all equally tall, so we shall say, that all long syllables are long, and all short short, though they are not all equally long. There are plenty of passages to this effect in the grammarians; but this one shall content us. Then as to the musicians, the monotony of two notes and the poverty of rhythmical phrase with which Burney reproaches the Greek music, disappears entirely as a sick dream before the healthy glance of APEL, BOECKH, FUESSNER, DRIEBERG and other German scholars and musicians, who have paid particular attention to the philosophy of ancient poetry and music¹⁸. It is strange indeed to one who takes his ideas on these subjects directly from the musicians, and not from the Prosodians, how any person that had read Aristides should ever have charged the Greeks with having only two kinds of notes in their music: for what on this supposition are we to make of the Ἀγωγή ῥυθμική, the *Ductus rhythmicus*, or rhythmical leading, which constitutes such a prominent division of musical science in the first Book of Aristides? “Ἀγωγή ῥυθμική,” he says (Meibom. 42), “ἔστι χρόνων τάχος ἢ βραδύτης”—the metrical duct is the swiftness or the slowness of the times. If there be any meaning in language, it is clear from this the composer or the performer of ancient music was no more fettered as to long and short by the poet, than any modern master of the time-beater. The poet might write verses indeed in Dactylic or Iambic verse; but whether the verses when written were to be sung in the time of three quavers, or three crotchets, or three minims,

¹⁸ Boeckh's masterly and elegant *Dissertation on the Metres of Pindar*, prefixed to his edition of that poet's works published in 1811, is well known. Apel was mentioned already, note 7, *supra*; and some further account of him will be found in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, as above, p. 287. The works of the other authors here quoted, so far as I have consulted them, are:—

(1). Aufschlüsse über die Musik der Griechen von Friedrich von Driberg. Leipzig. 1819.

(2). Die Musikalischen Wissenschaften der Griechen, von dems. Berlin. 1820.

(3). Die praktische Wissenschaft der Griechen, von dems. Berlin. 1821.

(4). De Antiquorum metrorum et metrorum discrimine. Scripsit Henricus Fuessner. Hanoviae. 1836.

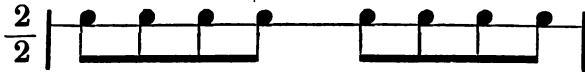
or varying the one with the other, depended partly on him indeed, but partly also on the musician. Further, when Aristoxenus tells us that the single feet (or bars, as we say, of three and four times, Iambi or Dactyles) are subdivided into various and more numerous units of quantity by the art of the rhythmopæist, that is to say, by the person who sets the verse to music¹⁹, and when Aristides (Meibom. p. 35) tells us that the Dactylic genus of Rhythm (*i. e.* the binary measure), proceeding from two times, (a Pyrrhic



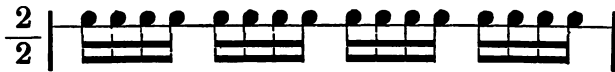
), goes on to sixteen, what are we to understand but this, that a Dactylic ode might be so varied by the rhythmopæist, as to contain not merely two quantities, thus



but also some bars thus



and others thus



Plato, indeed might not have approved of this fever dance of quavers and semi-quavers in the “Μούση σώφρωνι καὶ τεταγμένῃ” of his serene republic: but the ancient musician could talk of the richness and variety of his “independent range of rhythmical phrase,” as well as Dr. Burney.

Closely connected with this matter of a rich and varied quantity, in ancient as in modern oratory and music, is that famous question of Rhythm which has been so often argued—Had the ancient Greeks anything corresponding to what we moderns call TIME in music? Strange that the question should ever have been asked, much less seriously argued; but that old bi-quantitative dogma of the Prosodians standing unassailed, and it being obvious in many choruses of Æschylus, and in every ode of Pindar, that Dactyli, Iambi, and Cretics, and every sort of incongruous and unequal foot, are mixed up together, what could Burney, who

¹⁹ “αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ῥυθμοποιίας γινόμεναι διαιρέσεις πολλὰν λαμβάνουσι ποικιλίαν.” *Rhythmic. Element. Morell.* 1786. p. 293.

took his ideas from the metricians, do, but imagine that the Greeks mixed up common time and triple time together at random in their lyrical compositions,—that the breadth of Doric sound, which “in his deep-mouthed song Pindar poured immense,” was in fact a monstrosity of a movement between a stride and a hop, a solemn march scientifically interrupted by jerks of St. Vitus’ dance and twitches of *tic douloureux*,—that the famous Greek music, the music of Orpheus and of Sappho, was after all not half so good in one respect as the wildest war-yell of Hottentots and Cherokees²⁰,—that in the point of Rhythm, certainly the “*Atticorum aures teretes et religiosas*,” of which Cicero speaks, the smooth and scrupulous ears of the Athenians discerned literally nothing. This idea, which Burney took up from the Prosodians, has been propagated into not a few of the articles on ancient music in the many encyclopædic works which have lately issued from the press in this country²¹. The article MUSIC, in the excellent Dictionary of Antiquities lately edited by Dr. Smith, belongs to a different and to a more scholar-like school. The writer of that article, William Fishburn Donkin, M.A., of University College, Oxford, is acquainted with the most recent German, which, as on all matters of profounder erudition, are the best authorities on the subject; nevertheless, he is extremely meagre on the point of Rhythm, and to me altogether unsatisfactory. “The rhythm of the music,” this writer says, “must have depended chiefly, if not entirely, on that of the words, or else have been of a very simple and uniform character, since there is no mention of a notation for it as distinct from the metre of the poetry. Probably, therefore, nothing like the modern system of *musical* rhythm existed: and if so, this must have formed

²⁰ “I know not whether justice has been done to these melodies: and yet, with all the advantages of modern notes and modern measure, if I had been told that they came from the Cherokees or the Hottentots, I should not have been surprised at their excellence.” *Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients*. 1776. p. 103.

²¹ “The music of the ancients being governed by the rhythmical structure of their words, or of the long and short syllables composing them, the Greeks were, perhaps, unacquainted with the art of using signs both for variety and duration of sound. To suit, therefore, the

precise nature of these long and short syllables, we are obliged, in our translations of the most ancient specimens of ancient music, to change the time alternately into binary and ternary measures.” *London Encyclopædia*. Art. Music. Vol. xv. 274. See also *History of Music*, by W. C. Stafford, in *Constable’s Magazine*. Vol. LII. p. 143. 1830. But the sensible author of the *Essay on Rhythmical Measures*, in the Transactions of the Edinburgh Royal Society, 1790, expresses his doubts of this monstrous doctrine, and modestly hesitates to believe it (p. 108). He had good reason.

one of the most essential points of difference between the ancient and modern music." Now if this means anything more than the mere general assertion, that ancient music was more vitally and substantially connected with poetry than modern music, it seems to imply a repetition, in a milder form, of that same taunt of Burney, that there was something extremely defective and altogether imperfect in the rhythm of ancient music; for which charge I can see no ground whatsoever. For what is a Dactylic foot but a bar of $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{2}{8}$, quicker or slower, as the rhythmical ἀγωγή may direct? what is an anapaestic dimeter but a bar of common or march-time; as we see in the tragedies of Æschylus, where the choral παράδος or entrance on the stage is generally accompanied with a hymn sung to this measure? what is an Iambic foot but a bar of $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$, a Trochaic dipod but a bar of $\frac{6}{8}$ or $\frac{6}{4}$, as the style of the piece might require? And as for the matter of notation, is the living rhythm under the ear and the hand of the rhythmopæist the less perfect or pleasing because there is no separate signature for it at the commencement of a paper bar? would the Greek accents have been a melody of speech (διαλέκτου μέλος) one whit the less, if Aristophanes of Byzantium (or whoever the inventor was) had never bethought himself of fixing them down upon parchment, by certain lines drawn obliquely, now to the right and now to the left? or shall we say that the ancient Hebrews practically achieved the daily miracle of pronouncing consonants without vowels, because the chief vowel-points did not belong to the original written characters of their language, but were added afterwards by religious grammarians, unwilling that even a tittle of the sacred dialect should become obsolete? The Greek ear in the old and most current metre, the Dactylic metre of Hexameter verse, was tuned to a time as perfect as any that a modern musician ever certified himself of by placing a C or a $\frac{2}{4}$ as the public blazonry of his score. Can we then imagine that in Iambic verse, where the foot, for the sake of variety, admitted the Spondee and other foreign feet into the unequal places, this rhythmical instinct was not strong enough to equalise the two theoretically unequal feet, if not exactly by our dotted note, then by some other expedient of the same kind? It was the very business of the ῥυθμοποιία, as a distinct division of ancient musical science, to equalize the different feet of a verse by extending or shortening the individual syllables, according as the nature of the regulating rhythm, the character of the piece, and the expression

of the individual passage might require. Mr. Fuessner, in his little tract above cited, has collected a great variety of quotations from the ancient writers in proof of this point; and considering how strangely it has been doubted, scholars are much obliged to him for the clear and convincing manner in which he has arranged much matter into small space; but I must repeat again, that the burden of proof in this question properly lies with those who assert, contrary to every instinct of human ears, that the Greeks had no time. Let those who assert that the ancients were monsters in this respect, prove it from Aristoxenus, and from Aristides, not from Diomedes and Priscian, if they can. In the meantime, I hesitate not to assert, in the most unqualified manner, that *ῥυθμός* in Greek means *Time*, and nothing else, when applied to music, and that *ῥυθμοί*, in the plural, means musical bars played in time. "*Numerosum enim est in omnibus sonis atque vocibus quod habet quasdam impressiones, et quod metiri possumus ÆQUALIBUS INTERVALLIS.*" (Cicero de Orat. III. 48). What is the Ciceronian Latin for measuring the rhythm of music or speech by a division into EQUAL BARS in modern phraseology, if it be not this—*ÆQUALIBUS INTERVALLIS* ²²?

These three separate points, accent, quantity, and rhythm, being clearly settled, and the difference or identity of their ancient and modern use ascertained, the next question we have to put is : How

²² I was much disappointed in looking into K. T. Hoffmann's *Wissenschaft der Metrik*, Leipzig, 1835, to find that the author, though exhibiting a complete mastership of his subject in other respects, still persists in this old perverse crotchet, that the Greeks had nothing that answers to our modern notion of TIME, or "*Takt*," as the Germans call it. But on looking more narrowly into the matter, I find, that as he explains TIME, in an abstract, scientific, mathematical sense, our own choral singers observe it as little as did the Greeks. Witness the following remarkable passage :—"We must picture to ourselves the ancient tragic chorus as an admirably trained band, with a fixed and definite, but not very strict Rhythm, according to which, as necessity or expression might require, a long note was sustained longer than its proper length, in such a manner however always as that the long syllable in the poetry always had

a long note in the music correspondent, and always also with the observance of strict measure, with exactness, with consideration, and with well calculated artistic effect. Singing of this description cannot in any proper sense be represented by our modern time, *as indeed even our own choral music cannot be properly represented on paper, because in it, though the THEORY supposes strict time, the PRACTICE looks more to expression.*" (p. 121). Here is an admirable conclusion indeed! After so much expense of erudition and subtilty, it appears that the choral singing of the Greeks agreed with our own in every thing substantial and vital, while that in which they differ is a mere THEORY, a mathematical division of ideal, but unrealizable equality in the mind—

PARTURIUNT MONTES : NASCETUR
RIDICULUS MUS !

did they act together anciently in living combination, and how should they be made to act now in our classical schools and universities, as it were in some miraculously perpetuated, curiously prolonged echoing galleries of antiquity? Here the question assumes a directly practical aspect, and has an immediate bearing on important educational interests.

It is unquestionable, then, in the first place, both from the nature of human speech and from the express testimony of antiquity that the ancients as a general rule enunciated their speech in prose as well as verse with a habitual regard both to accent and quantity; and it is equally certain that the pronunciation of these languages now prevalent in most of our schools and colleges which pays no consistent regard to either, is altogether wrong. The point will bear argument with a sound head not a minute longer; but an inveterate practice, for many reasons, good as well as bad, whether in a law court or in a grammar-school, will stick to the skin like a cutaneous disease, long after logic has proved that leprosy is no beauty. For, as the valiant, one-eyed old Priscian of the Netherlands found three hundred and fifty years ago, when he exerted himself to have *theología* spoken properly according to the Latin accent, not *theologíā* according to a vicious Greek affectation then prevalent ²³—“*Senes valde indignantur dedoceri, et contra suum abusum aliquid a nobis dici ferunt ægerrime.*” There are moreover in this particular matter of accent and quantity some traditionary hallucinations afloat that seem to have confounded both intellect and ears of certain school-bred men to such a degree, that it is in vain to talk with them a rational word on the subject. They will tell you unhesitatingly that there is a natural and unavoidable tendency in accent to lengthen the syllable on which it is placed; and thus they cannot be made to understand how the ancient languages can be pronounced by accent, without at the same time confounding or inverting the quantity. But is it not plain, that if the accent lengthens the vowel on which it is placed, according to the Scotch pronunciation of the word *visible*, it remains an accent equally strong in the English pronunciation of the same word *visible*? Nevertheless many Scottish teachers, by a systematic neglect or perversity, allow

²³ Vid. *Ars Versificatoria*, Lib. iv. Strange enough we have now played Luther's drunken boor, and fallen over on

the other side of the ass—we pronounce Greek now with the Latin accent!

the little boys to say *arma virumque cauno*, as the English again read *cano*, as if the accent could not be preserved upon its proper place, the penult, as well when we preserve the short quantity of the vowel as when we violate it. What is there to hinder us from saying *canno* with the sharpened tone of the voice on the short penult, and the prolonged grave on the last syllable, just as in the English word *umpire*?—But in this place I had better state shortly, for the sake of those to whom this subject may be altogether new, what the laws of accentuation in the Latin language are; for the Greek is too complicated for a succinct view like the present. This matter therefore, without entering into some minute distinctions of acute and circumflex, stands simply thus: No Latin word is accented on the last syllable. A dissyllabic word of course is always accented on the penult, whether long or short. Again, no Latin word throws the accent further back than the antepenult. The rule for the accentuation of trisyllables and polysyllables accordingly is: if the penult be long, they are accented on that syllable, if the penult be short, they are accented on the antepenult, whether long or short. Thus we say *bonus*, *pœna*, *amare*, *legere*. Now it is a remarkable fact in the history of scholarship—only to be accounted for by the greater distance of the Greek system of accentuation from our own—that while in that language where the accents are marked to the eye, no regard is generally had to them by our teachers in reading Greek; in the Latin language, on the other hand, where the accents are never marked on the printed books, the ancient accentuation is generally observed by our scholars, though in such a way, we have seen, as often to inflict gross and needless injury on the quantity of the syllable. The only glaring violation of the simple rules of Latin accent that I have observed, is the practice which schoolboys are sometimes allowed to get into, of accenting the terminational syllable of a noun or verb, to mark the flexional changes of the word more distinctly, as I suppose, to the ear. Thus they will rattle off *dominús*, *dominí*, *dominó*, *dominúm*, &c. with an accent, more French and Italian than English or Latin, placed strongly on the last syllable. The careful teacher will correct this habit at first, and teach his pupil to say *dominí*, *dominorum*, *domínos*, with a quick impulse, similar to what they call *staccato* in music, on the first syllable, and when the

last syllable is long, prolonging it so as to bring out the legitimate anapæst, not change it into a tribrach. But this error in point of accentuation is of small practical importance, compared with the gross blunders in respect of quantity which are systematically allowed to be made even by those classical masters, who, if you appeal to their mere memory and not to their ear, are the most scrupulous and punctilious of Prosodians. This system of practical blundering may be best understood by stating it under two separate heads; the first class containing those cases in which short syllables are systematically lengthened, the second those cases in which long syllables are as systematically shortened. Instances of the first kind of perversion are most obvious in dissyllabic words, whether both the syllables are short as in *bonus*, or the first only, as in *duces* (generals), a word which is distinguished from *duces*, the 2nd per. sing. fut. ind. of the verb *duco*, only by the difference of quantity in the first syllable, that of the second syllable being the same in both; and the accent also the same. With regard to the first example *bonus*, it is impossible to see any principle on which an English mouth should prefer to say *bonus*, any more than *rawpid* for *rapid*, *tæpid* for *tepid*. It is a piece of mere carelessness and bad habit. The reason again why the quantity of the word *duces* should be inverted into *duces* in our school practice, is obvious enough. Though it is altogether false to say, as so many writers on this subject do, that there is any marked tendency in the English accent to lengthen the syllable on which it falls, (for in this case tribrachs, like terrible, would be much more scarce in our syllabic cadence than dactyles, like glorious, which they are not²⁴), we have however comparatively few words in which the first syllable being short has the accent,

²⁴ Mr. Foster did himself great damage with Dr. Gally, by the admission with which he set out (c. II. "that we English cannot readily elevate a syllable without lengthening it, by which our acute accent and long quantity generally coincide, and fall together on the same syllable.") Now the case rather seems to be as stated in the text, that our accent loves to come

with a rapid jerk on the syllable where it is placed, whereby not only this syllable is shortened in most cases, but, as an old musical doctor humorously expresses it "the other syllables, forced to shift for themselves, are tumbled down and trodden under foot in the crowd." (Dr. Anselm Bayly, *Alliance between Poetry and Music*. London. 1789).

while the second syllable being long has it not: we have comparatively few words, that is to say, like *úmpire*, *engīne*, *réptile*, or the German word *Wólmeer*; and the few we have are generally such in which the short vowel is supported by two consonants (what the ancients called *position*,) and which can thus more readily withstand the impulse of the accent without any consequent prolongation.

When therefore we meet with such a word as *duces*, we naturally lengthen the accented syllable, and as *es* in English is always a short syllable, (its corresponding long being a diphthong *aise*,) we as naturally shorten the final syllable which is long, and thus convert the Iambus into a Trochee. So much for dissyllables. With regard to tris- or poly-syllables having the antepenultimate short, I have not observed any particular tendency to lengthen the short syllable. The English speaker must rather have a decided tendency

the other way—as in *generosity*—*generositas*—and this obviously enough, from that tendency to a tribrachic syllabic cadence already mentioned as so characteristic of our tongue. Scotchmen, certainly, from the analogy of *veesible*, and *majesty*, and other such words may have an inclination to say *terribilis* for *terribilis*, *gemitus* for *gemitus*, and so forth; a tendency which the attentive teacher will, of course, set himself steadily to correct. Of much more consequence, however, towards discerning the true physiology of ancient speech, is the second class of cases mentioned, in which long syllables are perversely pronounced short. The root of this blunder lies much deeper in the philosophy of modern speech and modern literature; for altogether our poetry has a more intimate connexion with the conversational style of enunciation, whereas the ancient poetry, as it originally grew up, so when arrived at maturity, it remained in close union with, and is in fact, by the ancient writers, included under *Μουσική*, as the part of a whole. From this alliance between poetry and music in ancient times, arose naturally a tendency in ancient speech to delight in those full and massive bodies of sound, which produce long syllables; while, on the other hand, modern poetry, and in an especial degree English poetry, which is altogether divorced from music, being written more to be read than to be sung, has naturally assumed something (more, unquestionably, than befits

its dignity) of the rapid and running style of conversation²⁵. Hence, instead of the ancient dactyles, we have generally in our English verse, where the accent falls on every third syllable, tribrachs; what we call dactylic verse, being in most cases only a gross misnomer; we have changed the solemn march into a nimble jig or a flexile waltz; and instead of Spondees, and Dispondees, we do not scruple to employ largely, even in serious poetry, Pyrrhics and Proceleusmatics, feet which the massive and manly disciples of Pindar and Horace altogether excommunicated from the society of sober verse. Herein, also, we see plainly the reason why all attempts at reproducing the ancient Hexameter verse in English, even under the hands of such a master as Southey, have failed; for besides the mere strangeness of the thing to our ears, and the lame and limping effect which our frequent monosyllables produce, there is also the light tripping and undignified air of our Trochees, and, what is worse, Iambi and Pyrrhics in the place of Spondees, and Tribrachs in the place of Dactyles. The Germans succeed something better in imitating the majesty of the Virgilian verse; partly because they have mostly dissyllables, where we have monosyllables, but chiefly because they are accustomed to open their mouths wider, and give the vowels of all the syllables fair play. Such, therefore, being the nature of our speech, we are not to wonder that the British scholars, notwithstanding they have some few spondaic words in their language, as good as any in Latin, witness—^{— / —}female, ^{— / —}bee-hive, ^{— / —}evade,—seldom or never—I believe literally *never*, in reading Latin verse, pay Horace the compliment of making perceptible to the ear, those frequent Spondees of which he was so curiously studious. The *os rotundum* of a Scotch physician is practically as much at fault here, as the nimble clack of a smart

²⁵ On the other hand, we have gained considerably in the greater freedom and variety which our looser metrical practice gives to our tragic dialogue. I remember a remarkable instance of this in Sheridan Knowles' play of *Caius Gracchus*, Act. I.

“Caius hath spoken
For Vittius. I was certain he would do it.
He has entered the lists, he has stripped for the
course. I know

He will not get fair play, no more than his brother.

You will scarcely find two such lines in Æschylus.

— ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪, — /
— ∪, ∪ ∪, — /, — /, ∪ ∪ ∪

Anapæstus in antepenultima sede, Spondæus, atque (ὦ παῖα!) Proceleusmaticus in ultima !!!

Oxonian's tongue; and as for such a fearful prolongation of sound, as in that well-known word, with which the Horatian odes commence, Mæcenas, (which we generally pronounce Mæcenas,) we should certainly be apprehensive the breath was about to stick altogether in our throats that came out so slowly. I scarcely think, indeed, we have a single molossus, or word of three long syllables, in our tongue—unless it be—potatoes—as it is marked in Walker's Dictionary, though I fear in common prandial discourse, it would require a very solemn humorist to do it justice. What miserable tripping work, again, would be made of that weighty close in one of Cicero's periods, (doubtless studied as most things about ancient oratory were,) wherein he draws Catiline as not merely the disregarder and the despiser, but as the destroyer and the annihilator of the laws of his country—*Tu non solum ad negligendas leges et questiones, verum etiam ad everendas perfringendasque valuisti!*—where a fleet-ambling Pæon, in conformity with a well-known precept in Aristotle's Rhetoric, is brought in at the close only to contrast with the two ponderous Di-spondees that precede. Modern eloquence knows little of these musical means of producing effect—the more the pity. A want of full, broad, and protracted vocality, is indeed the grand defect of all modern languages in comparison of the ancient, and of none more than the English. When in an old shilling the image and superscription have been altogether effaced, the most earned numismatist can say no more than the jeweller. Pity only that languages, when their vocal elements are so rubbed down and obliterated, can seldom be sent to the mint again, like silver, or be recoined.

The practical application of this (may we be allowed to call it) spondaic principle in ancient declamation, will require some attention on the part of the teacher; but it is an attention which will amply reward his trouble. First, therefore, in monosyllables let us not slur them over as we generally do when they are long, but give them that natural prolongation which we never refuse to English words in the same situation; and as we do not talk of the immortality of the *soll*, but of the *sole*, so let us not say *oll* *lucet*, but *sole* *lucet*, when we are talking of the Roman sun.

Then in dissyllables where the penult is long, we are by our common practice in no danger; but where it is short, as already mentioned, or the last syllable is long, particular attention is required not to give all the prominence to the short syllable,

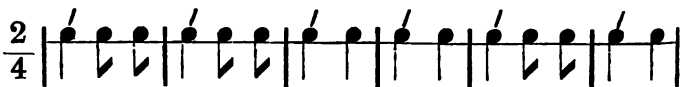
and to knock the long one down in the hurry—*duces* 

Special care must also be taken in pronouncing all the Spondees like the English word *fēmale*—as *trūdās*, *longōs*. In trisyllables again, we have to guard against the double danger of slurring over the unaccented finals and penultimate syllables when they are long, and of shortening the ante-penultimate when it is long.

Thus we shall say, not *domīnos*, but *domīnos*, not *detrūdās*, but *detrūdās*, not *generositās*, but *generositās*.—A little practice will soon make all this quite easy; and then when we read Horace and scan Alcaics, both our tongue and our ear shall know what our understanding is doing; which seems only reasonable.

I should now proceed to give a specimen of the manner in which a Horatian stanza or Virgilian period ought to be read or chaunted, according to the principles of rhythmical enunciation just explained, did not one weighty matter remain. The musical accent was mentioned in the outset as a thing different from the elocutionary accent; and the intimate connexion that subsisted between ancient music and ancient poetry leads us now to suspect, that, unless the musical accent always coincided with the spoken accent, (as is the case in modern songs set to music) we have a difficulty behind which it may not be so easy to get over. To make this clear by an example. According to the doctrine of the ancient musicians, as well as the nature of the thing and the practice of the moderns, dactylic verse, or $\frac{3}{4}$ time, receives the accent on the first syllable of every bar. Keeping the time therefore musically, according to this law, the first line of Virgil's *Æneid* should be read thus:

Arma virūmque canō Trojæ qui primus ab oris.



But by this close adherence to the regular return of the musical beat—a practice recommended by Vossius and Man-

waring, but scouted by Bentley*—we manifestly go directly in the teeth of that which we know to have been a first principle of the ancient Roman, as of the old Æolic and modern German tongue, that no word is accented on the terminational syllable. The Romans in common discourse did not say *cawno*, or *canno*, but *canno*, not *Trojæ*, like *evade*, but *Trojæ*, as in *femæle*. Did they therefore systematically sink the spoken accent in singing or reciting poetry, as we do, only in some old words, such as *ladye*, for *lady*, *marinere* for *mariner*, &c., or did they preserve the spoken accent wherever it clashed with the musical, and read thus,

Arma virūmque cāno Trojæ qui primus ab ōris.

Unquestionably a great difficulty lies here; the real clash of these two accents is a thing much more difficult to reconcile than that imagined inconsistency of an energetic accent, with a short quantity, which so sadly puzzled Messrs. Primatt and Gally, eighty years ago. To our modern ears such a practical clash as this between music and speech seems altogether unintelligible; for though we make no scruple to squeeze as much quantity out of a short spoken syllable, and to snip as much from a long one as the musical note may require, (what the ancients did certainly at times also, but as it should seem, only by way of licence) yet we have no conception of a habitual collision between the colloquial accent of the word, and that which it receives when adapted to any musical note. But so the matter seems to have been; and there is nothing monstrous or unnatural about it, when we consider it more narrowly. Music and speech are two things which, though they have strong resemblances and affinities in many points, and among the Greeks especially were closely connected in

* "Sane si quis scire desideret qualis fuerit antiqua carminum pronuntiatio is non multum a veritate aberrabit, qui illam similem fuisse existimat atque sit ea quæ vulgo in scandendis versibus adhibetur." *De Poematum cantu*. p. 30. But note here Vossius carefully guards himself against an absolute sing-song, such as boys are apt to get into when you tell them to read as they scan—he does not say *exactly the same*; but only *like it*. "Some moderns distinguish between scan-

ning and reading verse, but for what reason I cannot conceive. To measure or scan verse one way and read another, is a contradiction; and to read or scan verse as verse ought to be read or scanned, requires more rules than are contained in our grammar." *Stichology*, p. 12. What Bentley says on this subject, in the *Schediasma de metris Terentianis*, is too well known and too easily accessible to need repetition here.

practice, are yet in other points essentially distinct, and because they have a different object in view, can never be made to travel exactly the same road. Music delights to dwell on its sweet sounds, and requires often, to produce its full effect, a frequency, and even a continuity of long syllables. Speech, on the other hand, loves to hurry over its eager communications, and deals more in emphasis of the significant syllables than in quantity of any. This tendency of spoken language, however much it may be unfavourable to beauty, is inherent in the very nature and necessity of social talk ; and from this tendency it was that the Greek language at Byzantium, when the schools of the musicians ceased to co-operate with the practice of great living poets in keeping alive the quantitative element, became, like other languages in modern times, essentially accentual in verse as well as in prose. Our own English language, which has suffered more from this colloquial rapidity than perhaps any other, has accordingly, so far as quantity is concerned, become altogether unfit for musical purposes. We, therefore, in setting words to rhythm, or adapting rhythmical words to music, have been forced to leave the rules for syllabic quantity as loose as possible, and to permit on all occasions an ugly discord between the quantity of speech and the quantity of music. This does not strike us now as anything particularly improper ; only, however, one may guess, because we have so long been accustomed to do it. The ancient Greeks, on the other hand, in their musical practice were not wont to tolerate such a clash between musical and spoken quantities ; on the contrary, in their oratory and in their tragic dialogue they preserved systematically the full sonorous vocality of every syllable, and in their literary composition tied themselves down exactly to laws which strictly speaking belonged to music and not to recitation. On the other hand, however, as it was impossible for poets to fetter their literary composition altogether by the laws of music, the musical composer seems to have allowed them to deal with the spoken accents as they pleased, provided they preserved the stated order and proportion of short and long syllables in the rhythm. And thus an accent seems to have been systematically allowed in music different from that which was current in colloquial discourse ; the effect of which was, that while the language of recitation and oratory became decidedly more musical than anything of which we moderns have any idea, the language of singing (with one main advantage, that of full *vowel sounds*) laboured under a defect from which our singing

language is happily free. Proceeding on this view, and I confess I see no other that can solve the difficulty, we may lay it down finally, as the rule of ancient versification, that while both in prose and in verse, in declamation and in singing, the quantities of all the syllables were strictly preserved, in musical performances the colloquial accent was sunk altogether, or at least made audibly subordinate to the accent of the musical bars; but in oratory and in declamation of poetry, as approaching more to the character of common discourse, the speaking accent was preserved as much as possible, so far at least as was consistent with the preservation of anything like a regular rhythm; and it seems to me, as any one may observe in reading, that this method of recitation, in the case of Latin poetry at least, so far from injuring, rather improves the flow of the verse, and adds one element to ancient metre in which it certainly seems not a little inferior to the modern, I mean variety. I would, therefore, in reciting ancient poetry, by observing as much as possible the spoken accent as well as the rhythmical quantity, seek to avoid anything like a twing-twang, and in the first line of Virgil would certainly read canno , and $\text{Troj\bar{a}e}$, rather than $\text{c\bar{a}no}$, and $\text{Troj\bar{e}}$; and I do so with the more satisfaction, because Mr. Herbert, by his most ingenious and learned essay in the *Edinburgh Review*²⁷, has long ago taught all English scholars that ancient verse was not composed without any regard to spoken accent in all cases, any more than modern verse can in all cases afford to dispense with a certain regard to quantity.

I shall now take an ode of Horace, and, in conformity with the principles here laid down, mark the accented cadence with which I believe it to have been recited. How it was sung I do not inquire. That is a matter about which the musical composer, in the exercise of his legitimate office of *ῥυθμιστῆς*, alone could instruct us. The Quantities will be pronounced according to the following table, which I have drawn up for academical uses in Scotland; the English of course will not say Imperawtor, as we do, but Imperator, and so with the other vowels; but it were hard indeed, in a matter of this kind, which needs not to be settled absolutely either way, if we who are probably in the right, should be forced to yield to them who are certainly in the wrong.

²⁷ *Edinburgh Review*. Vol. vi. p. 357. 1805.

TABLE OF VOCAL QUANTITIES.

A	long	in	[—] FAB	as in English	LAWs.
—	short	...	[^] AN	.....	MAN.
E	long	...	[—] LEGE [—] s	.....	PRAISE
—	short	...	[^] ES	.....	MESS.
I	long	...	[—] VIS	.....	TREEs.
—	short	...	[^] BIS	.....	THIS.
O	long	...	[—] NOS	.....	NOSE.
—	short	...	[^] OS—(ossis)	.....	DROSS.
U	long	...	[—] MUS	.....	GOOSE.
—	short	...	[^] CUM		[^] COME.
Y	The same as I.				

N.B. Observe also that every vowel followed by two consonants is pronounced long; nor need we concern ourselves about the distinction practised by the Romans, whereby all naturally long vowels in the penult were circumflexed, while those long by position were only acuted.

HORACE. ODE I. 2.

*Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ
Grandinis misit Pater, ac rubente
Dexterâ sacras jaculatus arces
Terruit urbem;
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Sæculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra quæstæ:
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes.*

These verses recited with the true metrical quantity and the natural spoken accent will (according to our Scotch pronunciation of all the vowels) read thus:

Jáwm sattees | taérees || niv'is aútque | deéræ
Graúndinis | meésit || Patt'er áwc rubbjaénte
Daéxteraw | sawcraws || jac'ulaw'tus || awrcaes
Taérruit oorbem.

&c. &c.

Now this makes a very pleasant measure, according to our British ear; and what is more curious, will sing to many a Scotch r with eight quavers in the bar most aptly, for every line in fact consists of two such bars, thus—



and it is impossible for one who considers how much of the ancient versification has passed into the modern (as the political verses, the ecclesiastical chants, and much of the Romaic poetry (28), sufficiently prove), to overlook the striking similarity between the cadence of this Horatian verse, pronounced with these five spoken accents, and that of the great modern Epopœist, who sung “the glorious arms and the captain :

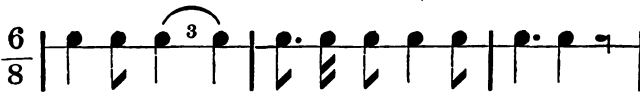
Che il gran sepolcro liberò di Christo.”

˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ — | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

This, indeed, is not the division which our metrical books teach us to make of the Sapphic stanza : they tell us that it is composed of a Trochee, a Spondee, a Dactyl, and two Trochees, thus—

— ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — —
Jam saltis terribis nivis | atque diræ.

And if it be meant by this division, that the Sapphic verse is essentially Trochaic, (which the two bars of Trochaic Dipods in its construction seem to indicate,) and was sung by the ancients to triple, not to common time, thus—



Then to this, as a matter of rhythmical *theory*, I have no objections; but I doubt much in the first place whether the Prosodians, who hand us down these divisions of the verses, knew anything at all of the rhythm to which the odes were actually set by the ῥυθμιστοί; and in the next place, practically for the purposes of modern reading and recitation, this division is of no use, as it forces us to put an accent on the final syllable of two words in

²⁸ See an interesting little tract by Thiersch, *Ueber die neugriechische Poesie besonders über ihr rhythmisches und*

dichterisches Verhältniss zur altgriechischen. München. 1828.

every verse, that, according to the division I propose, are allowed to retain their proper accent, while the quantity is not violated. It was not my purpose, however, in the present paper to make any inquiry into the proper metrical divisions that belong to any particular stanzas of ancient poetry. This, so far as it admits of being settled, would require a separate dissertation: the only matter I insist on at present is,—*read the verses according to the spoken accent and the full metrical quantity both*; and from these authentic elements let the practical ear work out a rhythm to please itself. Some kind of rhythm there certainly lies there, or the ancient ear-drums were strangely cracked.

In conclusion, I hope I may be pardoned for insisting strongly on the great importance of paying a strict and consistent regard to accent and quantity, but especially to quantity in the practical teaching of the learned languages. It is a gross and most pernicious mistake in many of our grammars to remit these matters to the end of the book, or perhaps to a separate treatise altogether. It is a mistake which our learned brothers the Germans, with that grand consistency and sound scholarship which characterises them, are everywhere beginning to correct²⁰. The details indeed of prosody and metres, their philosophical principles, and historical basis, can only be treated of in a separate work, and cannot be properly understood till after the student has made considerable progress. But the main points he ought to be made familiar with from the very first lesson; he ought not to be allowed to open his mouth without learning, in the way of practice, either a rule of prosody or an exception to a rule. It is in this way that little boys and girls learn the prosody of our own most capricious and irregular tongue. Languages are learned by imitation. The avenue through which sounds come to the tongue is the ear. It is the business of a master of languages to pronounce every word properly as it occurs, and not allowing a vicious pronunciation to grow up in the first place, set the child down in the second place preposterously to commit to memory a set of barbarous rules, commanding his memory habitually to give his tongue and his ear the lie. There is no more frequent blunder in the teaching of languages than leaving every thing to abstract rules and to the understanding. Living practice and the living ear are the proper organs and instru-

²⁰ See particularly *Lateinische Schul-grammatik*. Von W. H. Blume. Potsdam. 1839.

nents of language in dead tongues no less than in the living. It is in vain to expect that by the mere repeating of—

“As produo : ternæ pluralem corripe casum,”

peeping through a Prosody, or fingering a Gradus, we expect sympathetically to understand the movement of an Horatian stanza or a Pindaric strophe. We must recite them sonorously and hear them recited. We must also know something of the principles of music. Instead of committing jaw-breaking rules to memory, and logging Latin to paper, in such excess as some of us do, we should have a public Mainzer in every great school and university, and teach each our learned youth to sing the Psalms of David and the Odes of Pindar scientifically, one hour at least every day. Without a master of English elocution and of English music at his right-hand, the classical teacher will ever be in danger of pedantry; and Accent, Quantity, and Metres, while they may continue to be learnedly talked of, will neither be vitally experienced nor philosophically understood.

JOHN S. BLACKIE.

XXVIII.

D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATIRÆ cum Commentariis CAROLI FRID. HEINRICHII. Accedunt Scholia Vetera eiusdem Heinrichii et Ludovici Schopeni Annotationibus criticis instructa. 2 Vols. 8vo. Bonn. 1839.

THE Latin preface to this edition, which is by the editor's son, Charles Berthold Heinrich, informs us that Heinrich commenced his labours on Juvenal in the year 1804, when he was invited from Breslau to Kiel, and after leaving Kiel he continued them at the university of Bonn. His Commentaries on the Satires and the ancient Scholia were written in the form in which they now appear, in 1811 and the three following years. He intended to publish a complete edition of Juvenal, for which he had made great preparation, but he died before he could accomplish it, and his son has performed the pious office of publishing what his father left. He states, that there is evidence that his father would not have published the commentary exactly in its present form, which from internal indications seems very likely; and that he would have

written it in Latin, instead of German, in which language it now is. Heinrich, according to the preface, was the first who made any use of certain MSS. for the establishment of the text. These MSS. are seven. Six of these are Copenhagen MSS., which were collated for Heinrich by A. G. Cramer, a jurisconsult of Kiel; but he derived more use from a MS. belonging to the library of the school of Husum, which is also accompanied by glosses of a better character than usual. The editor however has printed the text from Ruperti's edition, from which he has only deviated in cases where his father had approved of a different punctuation, or a different orthography, or when his father or Ruperti had pointed out some different reading as the true one.

The first volume of this edition contains the text of the Satires, with brief Latin summaries prefixed, and the *Scholia Vetera in Juvenalem*, which are followed by the critical notes of Heinrich and Schopen on the Scholia. These scholia consist of those which Pithou originally published, and of additional scholia, which are marked with an asterisk. These additional scholia were taken by Cramer from a MS. of St. Gallen, which was subsequently examined by J. C. Orelli (*In D. Junii Juvenalis Satiræ veteres Commentarii vetusti. Post P. Pithoei curas auxit virorum doctorum suisque notis instruxit*, A. G. Cramer, Hamburg, 1832; *Scholiasta Juvenalis Suppletus et emendatus e Cod. Sangallensi*, a J. C. Orellio, Zürich, 1838). While this edition was passing through the press, Schopen supplied the editor with a great number of corrections for these scholia, and we thus have them in a better shape than they ever yet appeared. The second volume contains the author's brief introduction on Satire, and a short Essay on Juvenal: the rest of the volume is occupied with the Commentary.

That Juvenal is a valuable writer for aiding us in forming an estimate of the Roman character of his period, cannot be disputed; whatever difference of opinion there may be about him in other respects. But he is a very difficult writer, and those who are not sufficiently aware of this fact, and of what yet remains to be done to illustrate him, may be convinced by turning to Heinrich's Commentary. Heinrich has often succeeded in explaining what previous commentators have misunderstood, and if we do not always acquiesce in his conclusions, we must admit that he had well studied his author, and was a sound scholar. It is not possible in a limited space to do more than to select a few instances from his Com-

mentary by way of sample, and as one satire is as good as another for this purpose, we shall begin with the first.

Quum pars Niliacæ plebis, quum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
Nec suffere queat majoris pondera gemmæ,
Difficile est satiram non scribere. *Sat. i. 26.*

Ruperti gives the explanation of Britannicus and others of the words "Ventilet æstivum," which is this: 'he takes from his fingers his golden rings, the insignia of Equestrian rank, and tosses them up, and thus as it were cools them.' The commentary of Heinrich on this absurd explanation is pithy enough "lächerlich" (ridiculous) ; and he proceeds to give the right explanation, as to which indeed there is no difficulty: 'he waves his hands backwards and forwards, apparently on account of the heat, but in fact to shew his fine rings,' an explanation which Ruperti proposes as the true one, though with some doubt. One might collect from Heinrich's note¹ that Ruperti had adopted the ridiculous explanation, which he probably did in the first edition: we have only consulted the second. It is singular that the expression "Tyrias humero revocante lacernas" should have caused so much difficulty. Ruperti after giving various explanations, which it is unnecessary to mention, adopts that of Heinecke: 'the effeminate shoulder, now that warm weather is coming on, recalls (*revocat*), that is, resumes its summer vests.' Heinrich considers this an ingenious explanation, and says that it agrees with the usage of the language, but he doubts if it will accord with the grammar, that is, with the present tense "revocante." We should have thought better of his judgment in this instance if he had simply said "lächerlich." Heinrich gives the true interpretation, though with less simplicity than he might have done, and with more labouring at the result than is necessary. Juvenal simply means to represent the upstart as wearing a cloak of Tyrian purple which floated in the wind as he walked, and conformably to a mode of expression which is common enough in his Satires, he represents the shoulder as pulling or drawing back the cloak, which is floating loose in the wind as the wearer walks.

¹ Heinrich must have used the first edition of Ruperti's Commentary, Leipzig, 1802. Ruperti in his second edition, Leipzig, 1819-20, availed himself of many

of Heinrich's remarks; which were published while Heinrich was at Kiel in 1806, 1810, 1811, as hereafter observed.

v. 33. — post hunc magni delator amici,
Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
Quod superest.

Ruperti explains the "magnus amicus" to be the emperor to whom the informer carried his accusation. Thus the "accuser of a great friend" means, "him who carries an accusation against another to his great friend." Heinrich simply observes—'the accuser of his own friend, who is called great in respect of his position, wealth, and influence,' and who being great in this sense would be a richer booty for an informer. Ruperti after giving his own explanation adds, 'unless you would prefer this,' and then he gives the right explanation. Heinrich has a good note in which he shews that these informers who were so abundant, especially under Domitian, acted upon the provisions of the *Lex Majestatis*; and he gives references to several modern writers by whom this subject is explained. Information of this kind is seldom given by Ruperti, and is not given in the present instance.

v. 34. — quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus, et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino?

Heinrich observes, 'that there have been many explanations of the second line, but that it is not possible to give a true explanation without reading *ut* for *et*. Ruperti is as blind as his predecessors, and Achaintre also understands nothing.' According to Heinrich *ut* indicates a comparison: 'whom Carus coaxes with presents as Thymele does her husband when sent for that purpose by Latinus all in alarm.' He shews that Latinus and Thymele were a well-known Mimus and Mima, and that the allusion is to a theatrical representation, the subject of which was a staple article at Rome—a fool who is a cuckold, his young wife, her lover, and a slave. Latinus plays the lover, and Thymele the wife. On one occasion they are near being surprized by the jealous husband, and the lover is hid in a chest. (See Juvenal, vi. 44.) He trembles for his life, but the wife coaxes and cajoles her husband, and the danger is averted. The word "summissa" signifies that the wife is commissioned by the lover to appease the husband's anger. This explanation is ingenious, and is adopted by Ruperti from the Commentaries on Juvenal, three in number, which Heinrich published while he was at Kiel; but this verse requires further consideration².

² Madvig observes (*Opuscul. Academ.* | endum mihi est ab homine clarissimo,
p. 46) on v. 35, "locus, in quo dissenti- | Heinrichio."

v. 36.—*Quum te summoveant, qui testamenta merentur
Noctibus, in cœlum quos evehit optima summi
Nunc via processus, vetulæ vesica beatæ?
Unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem.*

Summoveant "justa hereditate" says Ruperti; on which Heinrich says 'elend' (sorry, pitiful); and so it is. This interpretation represents the "te," the honest man as entering into competition for a testamentary gift with those scoundrels who get a rich woman's property by gratifying her lust. It is properly explained by Heinrich thus: fellows who become rich by these discreditable means, elbow and push out of the way the honest man: they are carried through the streets in litters, and their big porters unceremoniously shove every body out of the path.

"*Optima summi Nunc via processus.*" According to Ruperti, 'now the easiest way to supreme felicity, unless you prefer to consider that it refers to the consulship, the highest dignity.' As usual, Ruperti wavers between the wrong explanation and the right one. "*Processus*" is a technical word (Dig. 24. tit. 1. s. 41), and signifies, "access to the highest honour," the first step to which in these degenerate times was to grow rich. The note of Heinrich is good and complete. (See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, *Donatio inter Virum et Uxorem*).

"*Unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem.*" Ruperti, in his Commentaries says, 'ex unciola, cui ne hæc quidem tota:' on which Heinrich remarks, 'consequently less than an uncia; and that is nothing, &c.' The remark of Ruperti is very trivial, and hardly deserves notice except as a sample of his want of critical judgment. Gillo had eleven twelfths of the inheritance; Proculeius, a less favoured lover, one twelfth; a poor uncia, an unciola. Ruperti in the short notes placed under the text in his second edition appears to have discovered that he had made a mistake.

v. 55. *Quum leno accipiat mœchi bona, si capiendi
Jus nullum uxori.*

This is rightly explained in Ruperti, who copies the note of Heinrich, which was published in 1806. The commentators have blundered about the passage, which does not refer to the edict of Domitian about *feminæ probrosæ*, but to the *Lex Voconia*, which was passed about B. C. 169. This law forbade a woman to be made *heres ex asse*: the subsequent *Lex Julia Papia Poppæa* gave women this privilege if they had a certain number of children. A man who was the father of one child, could take as universal heir. Accordingly, the satirist says, that if the wife

is under a legal incapacity to take an inheritance, the husband may be able to take it; and, to win the favour of the adulterer, he winks at his amours with his wife, in the hope of being made his heir. The explanation of Heinrich is perfectly satisfactory. (See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, *Voconia Lex*).

v. 58. Quum fas esse putet curam spectare cohortis,
 Qui bona donavit præsepibus, et caret omni
 Majorum censu. Dum pervolat axe citato
 Flaminiam puer: Automedon nam lora tenebat,
 Ipse lacernatæ quum se jactaret amicæ.

The ordinary editions place the stop after "Flaminiam," and read "puer Automedon nam lora tenebat." Heinrich observes, that the poet combined the sarcastic epithet "Automedon" 'with the holding of the reins'. He adds, that "nam" cannot come after the second word of a proposition, but that it may come after the first word, as it sometimes does in Horace.

"Ipse lacernatæ quum se jactaret amicæ."

The following is the note of Ruperti on this line: 'Jactare se amicæ, quod jam Casaub. ad. Pers. iv. 15, monuit, est fere Græcum *ἀπαίεσθαι* et *καλλωπίζεισθαι*, vel translatum a pavonibus, qui, quum picta pandunt spectacula cauda collumque incurvant, creduntur jactare se feminis easque voce sua ad Venerem tum illicere. Conf. ad Liv. iii. 1. note 3. Britann. et alii *jactare se alicui* dici putant pro, se ipsum illi dare, ingerere, insinuare, adeoque h. l. per multa lasciviæ blandimenta comitari amicam et sæpe osculari vel amplecti.' This is not exactly what Casaubon says, whose remark terminates with the words 'jactare se feminis:' the rest is derived from some lines of Gregorius of Nazianzus, whom Casaubon quotes. Now it is not consistent with the idiom of the Latin language, to take "se jactare" in any other sense than that of recommending oneself, making a display of one's courage, skill, and so forth; (*vantarsi, gloriarsi, Facciol. Lex v. Jactare*), and this is the sense in the passage of Juvenal, as Heinrich shews. But, in order to shew the full meaning of this passage, it is necessary to give it with Madvig's punctuation, (*Opuscul. Academ. p. 33*).

Quum fas esse putet curam spectare cohortis,
 Qui bona donavit præsepibus et caret omni
 Majorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
 Flaminiam puer Automedon: nam lora tenebat
 Ipse, lacernatæ quum se jactaret amicæ, &c.

Heinrich's punctuation is,

— dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer: Automedon nam lora tenebat,
Ipse lacernatæ quum se jactaret amicæ.

This last line is generally supposed to refer to Nero's scandalous commerce with Sporus; but, as Heinrich observes, if there is no difficulty as to the matter of the chariot, there is a difficulty as to the word "lacernatæ," for in the story, as told by Suetonius, (Nero. c. 28) and Dion Cassius (LXIII. 12, 13), Sporus appears dressed as a woman, whereas, here the person is represented in male attire, or as wearing the lacerna. Besides this, Sporus was carried about by Nero in a lectica; and, as Madvig observes, to explain "jactare se alicui" by 'amatorias delicias agere, ut interpretantur, neque est, neque eæ aptæ admodum ad axem citatum.' Though Heinrich, as already observed, rejects the ordinary interpretation of "quum se jactaret," he still thinks that Nero is meant by "Ipse." The youth who spent his money on horses and chariots, is represented, according to Heinrich, as the charioteer of Nero, as driving the chariot while Nero shews himself off, that is, is speaking of his great exploits to his "lacernata amica," whom Heinrich still considers to be 'die geliebte in der lacerna, die schöne mit dem bart,' though he does not admit that the description suits Sporus. But this is hardly consistent with his own explanation, and Madvig's is the only admissible interpretation—he, the young charioteer, and the Automedon, is driving along the Flaminia to shew off in the presence of his mistress "lacernata." Ipse is the Automedon. Heinrich's illustration of "quum se jactaret amicæ," derived from the story of L. Quinctius Flamininus, as told by Livy (XXXIX. 42. 43), is far fetched; ingenious, but very improbable. It may appear a small matter to spend so many words on the explanation of one short passage, but the wrong interpretation of any passage of an author is generally owing to a vicious method, as in this instance, where the critics have attempted to deduce the author's meaning from what he does not say, instead of from what he does say.

As to the reading "curam spectare," Heinrich remarks that the common reading "sperare" is only a gloss of the true reading "spectare," which two Copenhagen MSS. have.

v. 63. Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
Quadrivio, quum &c.

Here again the interpreters are at fault. Ruperti says, that

"medio quadrivio" refers to the abundant material for satire which a man will see in the public places. Other explanations have been given; but the explanation of Heinrich is the only one that suits the context. "Medio quadrivio" means 'on the spot,' 'without delay'; the satirist, it is true, sees the objects of his just indignation when he goes abroad, but he cannot wait till he gets home; his anger is roused, and he would vent it in writing on the spot.

v. 67. Signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
Exiguīs tabulis et gemma fecerat uda;

Heinrich says, that with the word "falso" we must suppose 'signo' understood. The pointing of Ruperti is,

"Signator, falso qui se lautum atque beatum," &c., but, as Heinrich remarks, this is a false connection. Juvenal does not mean to say, that the man has made himself rich by forging a brief will, which disposes of all the alleged testator's property in a few words; but, he means to say, that the man is a will-forger, and by a few words has contrived to get an estate. The charge of forging is in the word "falso:" the ease with which he has managed the affair is expressed by the words "exiguīs tabulis" and "gemma uda." A rogue who forges a will, gets what he wants with little trouble: the shorter the will, the better for his purpose; he gives himself all, and that does not require many words. It would be enough for him to write "Titius heres esto" (Gaius, II. 117). The absurdity of Ruperti's interpretation will be apparent if we consider that a testator who wished to give all his property to any person, could effect his purpose by half a dozen words: therefore the expression "exiguæ tabulæ," a brief testament in itself, conveys no notion of any imputation on him who is made *heres*. The imputation is in the word "falso," a technical term well known to the Romans: the ease with which the offence is perpetrated is in the words "exiguīs tabulis." But it is usual with Ruperti to misunderstand the meaning of his author.

There is a difficulty about the word "falso." Madvig, who does not altogether reject Ruperti's punctuation, explains it in a way which may be admitted. He says we may take "falso" to express, first, the general character of the man's act, and "exiguīs tabulis," &c. to refer to the means; but he admits that "signator" will then stand disjointed from the context; and this is an objection to this punctuation, for "signator" alone is one who puts his "signum" to an instrument, which an honest man does more frequently than a *rogue*. He suggests that Juvenal may have written "signato falso."

But as he objects to Weber's explanation, who supplies the word *in* so that the full expression shall be "signator in falso," and adds, that Weber should have given some example of the phrases "signator in falso, in tabulis," and the like; so we object to Madvig's "signato falso," and we require examples of this usage. The legal phrase is "falsum signare" (Dig. 48. tit. 10): a forger is "signator falsus." If the reading "signator" is right, as it most probably is, and if the point should be placed after "falso", as to which there can hardly be a doubt, either Heinrich's interpretation is right, or we must take "falso" as an adverb. In the sixty-ninth line it is obvious, as Heinrich observes, that we must read "Occurrat," for the words "Occurrat matrona potens," &c. belong to the sentence "quum jam sexta cervice feratur," and "quum" must be understood with "occurrat." The note of interrogation must come at the end of v. 72. One more instance of the blundering of Ruperti, in which, however, he is not alone, will be sufficient :—

v. 77. Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avaræ,
Quem sponsæ turpes et prætextatus adulter?

Ruperti explains "sponsæ turpes" to be "viri viris nubentes," though the context clearly shews that Juvenal is speaking of dissolute women, who are debauched after they are betrothed (sponsæ) and before they are married. Heinrich says, "sponsæ turpes, wie die amica" (v. 62), from which it appears that he understands it as Ruperti does; but this is certainly a mistake. Vices of this kind, as Madvig remarks, are lashed in the second satire. Besides, the words "prætextatus adulter," are significant enough. Ruperti halts, as usual, between two opinions, as to the words "prætextatus adulter;" but there is no doubt about the meaning; it is, as Madvig observes, "adolescens jam in prætextâ adulter."

These remarks only apply to the first eighty lines of the first satire, but they are enough to shew what remains to be done for the interpretation of Juvenal. A complete review of Heinrich's Juvenal would be almost as long as his own Commentary, and such a review is not within the scope and compass of this journal. The object has been, generally to point out the merits of Heinrich's Commentary, and to shew by a few instances what its character is. The Commentary, as already observed, has the appearance of not being in that form in which the author would have published it: he would probably have added some things, altered some remarks, and erased others. Perhaps he might have treated his brother critics somewhat more gently than he

does, though they generally deserve his censure. Ruperti comes in for his full share:—

In tabulam Sullæ si dicant discipuli tres. IL 28.

On this passage Heinrich correctly says, *dicere in* is the Greek λέγειν κατά τινος. Ruperti's remark is, *de judice sententiam dicente*; on which Heinrich remarks—"der mann versteht kein Latein," which is rather abrupt.

To write a good commentary on a classical author, a man must first know the language well; and herein modern scholars are rather deficient. He must also make himself thoroughly acquainted with the author as a whole, and explain him as much as possible by means of his own work. If he will do this, he will not go far wrong; and even if the author occasionally requires illustration from extraneous matter, we would much prefer a critic who should neglect such illustration altogether, to one who loads his commentary with foreign matter, and thinks he is explaining the text of an author when he is obtruding on him his own misconceptions. It is not a mass of matter, good and bad heaped together indiscriminately, like Ruperti's Commentary, which will explain an author; nor is a great parade of authorities a proof of learning, much less of sense. With the ample means now at our command for the illustration of antient writers, there is some risk of the subsidiary being viewed as more important than the principal, and of the author being considered less than the commentary. A good work in any language is a thing of art, and that which professes to explain it is so far good as it does explain, but no further. What is superfluous, is so much useless lumber; what is trifling or false, is a positive injury.

The following remarks of an excellent critic may not be out of place:—"Neminem esse arbitror in iis qui in scriptoribus Latinis legendis versati sunt, qui ignoret, quantum restet operæ in Juvenalis satiris ponendæ, quum propter ipsarum difficultatem, tum quod ad eas enarrandas nec multi accesserunt nec satis plerique instructi ad eam rem agendam. Quum enim plerisque, quod in vetustissimis illis, Calderino, Britannico quique circa eam ætatem fuerunt, ferendum est, subtilior sermonis Latina cognitio deesset, sine qua nemo potest omnia vestigia verborum persequi, et ex iis ita sententiam eruere, ut non solum, quid verba significant, videat, sed, quid significare non possint, perspiciat, neglecta fere est in locis difficultibus grammatica hæc subtilitas et accurata verborum interpretatio, quæ illius tanquam radicibus niteretur, sententiæque sæpe coniec-

tando magis quem interpretando effectæ. Quo quum accessisset, ut opinarentur, in poeta satirico ante omnia videndum esse, quid oblique et obscure tetigisset (allusiones vocant) isque sibi ingeniosissimus videretur, qui aliquam hujusmodi significationem reperisset, id quod facillimum est, si orationis vinclis te exsolvas et rerum leves similitudines veneris, neglectis dissimilitudinibus, permagna orta est errorum et vanissarum suspicionum multitudo, quum, nondum perspecto, quid poeta dixisset et quæ posset in verbis sententia inesse, quæreretur, quid significasset, significationes autem non ex notis iis, quas poeta posuisset, eruenter, sed aliunde sumptæ inferrentur, et ad eas verba accommodarentur." (Madvig, *Opuscula Academica*, p. 30, &c.)

GEORGE LONG.

XXIX.

NIEBUHR AND THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE 79th number of the *Westminster Review*, published last December, contains an attack upon Niebuhr, in which not only his general merits are depreciated, but the most extraordinary charges are advanced against his fidelity as an historian. He is deliberately charged with having "falsified" and "mutilated" several passages of Livy to support his own views; and "the hundreds who are to study his great work" are told, "that they cannot rely upon his statements, nor credit his citations." These accusations are taken from a pamphlet by M. Auguste Poirson, published in Paris in the year 1837, under the title of *Examen de divers points du Gouvernement et de l'Administration de la République Romaine et de l'ouvrage de M. Niebuhr*, and which is a reprint of an article that originally appeared in the *Revue Française* (Tome II. 2^e Livraison). Now if one half of the charges which M. Poirson brings against Niebuhr's fidelity are true, the Reviewer deserves our best thanks for laying them before the notice of the English public, and for teaching us, however painful the discovery may be, that we have hitherto been imposed upon by a dishonest writer. Considering, however, the European reputation of Niebuhr, the number of eminent scholars who have studied his work, the sifting criticism which his statements have undergone at the hands of enemies as well as friends, and the testimony which all parties have borne to his love of truth,

however much they may have questioned many of his conclusions, we think that no writer should have attempted to assail Niebuhr's veracity without having studied his History most carefully, and feeling quite certain that he understood the statements he was going to attack. We think that modesty should have suggested to a writer, that he might himself have misunderstood Niebuhr, and that such glaring instances of inaccuracy could not have escaped the eyes of the eminent men who have from time to time recorded their opinion upon the merits of his work. But, unhappily, the Reviewer has been entirely led away by the bold and confident assertions of M. Poirson, who has, with strange effrontery, brought forward the most serious charges, which are utterly and completely false, against the good name of one of the greatest men in modern times. From the general tone and spirit of the Reviewer's remarks, we conclude that he regrets the course which his duty has compelled him to take; and we therefore readily acquit *him* of any dishonest intention, though we must express our regret that he should have allowed himself to be imposed upon by the shallow sophisms of M. Poirson, and thus have been the means of giving publicity to calumnies, which many may believe from the very confidence with which they are uttered.

Before proceeding however to point out the groundlessness of these specific charges of falsification, we may say a few words upon one or two general accusations which the Reviewer urges against Niebuhr's history. He maintains that it is deficient as a work of art, and as a work of historical philosophy. It is not our intention now to enter into the general question of the merits of Niebuhr as an historian, upon which many different opinions may be held, nor do we mean to discuss at length the truth or falsehood of these charges. We only wish to call the attention of our readers to the strange manner in which the Reviewer supports them: some of his remarks seem to us so extraordinary, that we can only account for them on the supposition that he never read the whole of Niebuhr's work. Could any person who had read and thoroughly mastered Niebuhr have written the following passage?—

"Few men ever approached the subject prepared with so much valuable knowledge, and few have shewn such inability to use it as an artist. To a copious erudition, and a rich and varied knowledge of history in general, he joined a practical experience of political institutions, and a large acquaintance with men. Few writers have been so learned who have been so little of the mere bookworm. Yet he was singularly deficient in that quality

which usually distinguishes the practical man, or the man of the world, viz. an ability of imparting what he knows. However great Niebuhr's knowledge of Roman life, he is unable to reproduce it under the form of art; nay, as far as internal evidence goes, one might almost suspect that he had never realized it for himself. All that relates to the political institutions has a great attraction for him; but we do not see that the social life ever absorbed his attention. No Roman lives in his pages. No Roman feeling is artistically reproduced. The ethnological peculiarities are left to be guessed. Neither the great characters nor the great mass are to be met with vividly delineated; only names, indications, and abstractions."

It has always struck us that Niebuhr's error has been in the opposite direction; that he has sometimes attempted to reproduce what must, from our scanty knowledge, ever remain in darkness, and that his strong imagination has led him to attribute feelings and motives to the actors in Roman history, which a man of a less ardent temperament would have hesitated to ascribe.

The Reviewer also objects to the style of the work as cumbrous and deficient in clearness; and, notwithstanding the eulogies of some of Niebuhr's friends, we must agree in the general truth of these remarks. But here again the Reviewer has not done Niebuhr justice. He remarks: "that it is, perhaps, hardly fair to criticise his pretensions as an historian by the two first volumes. The whole subject was buried in obscurity, and he had to clear away much rubbish before light could penetrate. He was compelled to write dissertations, because he had no settled narrative to relate. . . . It is in the third volume therefore we must look for the historian: there, his friends tell us, we shall find him. Unfortunately we see as little evidence of historical genius in the third as in the other volumes." And then the Reviewer proceeds to take the history of the First Punic War as the most favourable specimen of Niebuhr's skill in historical composition. Now this is not fair, and would not be honest, only we conclude that the Reviewer never read the preface to the third volume. If he had, he would have seen that the history of the First Punic War was only a sketch, written twenty years before the author's death, as a continuation of the lectures on Roman history, which he had delivered in 1811 in the University of Berlin; that this sketch was never even finished; and that the history of this war would have been entirely re-written, had the author lived to continue his work. We have therefore good grounds for complaining of the Reviewer's selection of the most unfinished part of all Niebuhr's work as a specimen of his historical composition. Though Niebuhr's style is far from faultless, there are many parts in his work, such for instance as the history of the Samnite wars, where his style rises

with the greatness of his subject; and one of the best of our living historians has not hesitated to declare that the third volume of Niebuhr's history "contains specimens of historical eloquence which will bear a comparison with the masterpieces of ancient and modern times." To these, and not to an imperfect fragment never written for the press, should the Reviewer have referred as a fair specimen of Niebuhr's skill in historical composition.

The other accusation which the Reviewer brings against Niebuhr, or rather against his work, is his deficiency as an historical philosopher. And to shew that Niebuhr "was not even on a level with his own age, much less in advance of it," he quotes the following passage from his work.

"Now, while in forming a just estimate of the Romans, we must not lose sight of those dark shades in their character, and must therefore limit our assent to their praises, we are also forced, though in a different sense from the Greeks, to ascribe a large share in producing their greatness to fate. Through the whole of their history, we shall see how often all the virtues of the state and of the people would have been ineffectual, unless destiny had saved Rome in her perils, and paved the way for her triumphs. The nations and the men, before whom Rome might have fallen, appeared too late. In the periods of her weakness, she had only to fight with adversaries no way superior to her: and while Rome staked every thing in the East, and war was her natural state, other nations husbanded their efforts because they despaired of victory, or at the bottom of their hearts loved nothing but effeminate sloth, whatever their ill-judged enterprises might seem to imply. Philip's inaction at the beginning of the war with Hannibal—that of Mithridates, so long as the Marsian war threatened Rome, and a slight additional weight would have turned the scale—these are events in which we cannot but recognize the finger of God. For that Rome was not naturally unconquerable, was demonstrated by the resistance of a few warlike nations, who were only overpowered by superiority of numbers and force."

Upon which the Reviewer makes this extraordinary comment:

"We take this to be about the worst general reflection ever made. We might pardon a rhetorician for escaping the real difficulty, and pompously explaining the enduring might of a nation, by attributing it to destiny. We might pardon a theologian for setting aside the virtues of the state and people as ineffectual, and for only recognising the finger of God in very natural events. But what are we to think of the historian who thus philosophizes? What are we to think of the 'demonstration' of Rome 'not being naturally unconquerable,' which rests upon the fact that a few warlike nations resisted her—and were overpowered? As if such a thing needed demonstration, or such a demonstration would suffice!"

In the name of philosophy we must protest against such a doctrine as this. If there is a God, who regulates and controls *the affairs of this world*, it is the duty of the philosophical historian *to recognize his hand* in the events of a nation's life, and it is

only a shallow philosophy which would shut out God from the government of a people. The Reviewer's argument, if worth any thing, is essentially an atheistic one; not that we mean to charge the Reviewer with atheism, for we trust that the days are gone by when men charged one another with infidelity without knowing their religious opinions; but we confess that we do not see the force of the Reviewer's argument, except on the supposition that there is not a God, or at least that he takes no part in the government of the world.

These, however, are general charges, which do not in the least impeach Niebuhr's accuracy and fidelity as an historian; and if the Reviewer had confined himself to them, we should probably not have thought it necessary to have brought them before the notice of our readers. We now pass on to the more important part of the article, in which the Reviewer accuses Niebuhr of falsifying the text of Livy in order to support his own views. The instances of falsification which the Reviewer adduces are all connected with Niebuhr's account of the dictatorship; and in order to put the reader in full possession of the case, we will first state Niebuhr's opinion respecting the dictatorship, next that of the Reviewer, and lastly proceed to examine the alleged instances of falsification.

Niebuhr maintains that there were originally four distinct steps taken in the creation of a dictator. He was first nominated by the senate, then approved of the *populus* or great council of patricians (*comitia curiata*), next formally proclaimed (*dictus*) by one of the consuls, and finally received the imperium from the council of the patricians. As, however, the patricians possessed this right of conferring the imperium, Niebuhr supposes that they might dispense with voting on the preliminary nomination of the senate; and that this is the reason why we frequently read of a decree of the senate, whereby a dictator was appointed, without any notice of the council of the patricians. It will be seen that, according to Niebuhr's view, the proclamation (*dictio*) of the consul was absolutely necessary to the validity of the appointment; but the consul had not an uncontrolled discretion in the choice of the person; he merely proclaimed the one whom the *populus* had previously determined upon. But in order to avoid all doubt and ambiguity, we will let Niebuhr speak for himself.

“Like ignorance as to the ancient state of things is involved in the notion of Dionysius, that after the senate had merely resolved that a dictator was

to be appointed, and which consul was to name him, the consul exercised an uncontrolled discretion in the choice: which opinion, being delivered with such positiveness, has become the prevalent one in treatises on Roman antiquities. Such might possibly be the case, if the dictator was restricted to the charge of presiding over the elections, for which purpose it mattered not who he was. In the Second Punic War, in 542, the consul, M. Valerius Lævinus, asserted this as his right: and in the First the practice must already have been the same, for else P. Claudius Pulcher could not have insulted the republic by nominating M. Glycia. But never can the disposal of kingly power have been intrusted to the discretion of a single elector.

"The pontifical law-books, clothing the principles of the constitution after their manner in a historical form, preserve the true account. For what other source can have supplied Dionysius with the resolution of the senate, as it professes to be, that a citizen whom the senate should nominate and the people approve of, should govern for six months? The people here is the *populus*. It was a revival of the ancient custom for the king to be elected by the patricians; and that such was the form is established by positive testimony.

"Still oftener, indeed, throughout the whole first decad of Livy, do we read of a decree of the senate, whereby a dictator was appointed without any notice of the great council of the patricians. The old mode of electing the kings was restored in all its parts. The dictator after his appointment had to obtain the *imperium* from the curies; and thus, from possessing this right of conferring the *imperium*, the patricians might dispense with voting on the preliminary nomination of the senate. Appointing a dictator was an affair of urgency: some augury or other might interrupt the curies: it was sufficiently unfortunate that there were but too many chances of this at the time when he was to be proclaimed by the consul, and when the law on his *imperium* was to be passed. And after the plebeians obtained a share in the consulate, as the senate was continually approximating to a fair mixture of the two estates, it was a gain for the freedom of the nation, provided the election could not be transferred to the centuries, to strengthen the senate's power of nominating. Under the old system a plebeian could not possibly be dictator. Now as C. Marcius in 398 opened this office to his own order, whereas in 393 it is expressly stated that the appointment was approved by the patricians, it is almost certain that the change took place in the interval. Even in 444 the bestowal of the *imperium* was assuredly more than an empty form. But it became such by the Mænian law. Thenceforward it was only requisite that the consul should consent to proclaim the person named by the senate. Thus after that time, in the advanced state of popular freedom, the dictatorship could occur but seldom, except for trivial purposes: and if on such occasions the appointment was left to the consuls, they would naturally lay claim to it likewise in those solitary instances where the office still had real importance." (Vol. i. pp. 566—569, Engl. transl. 3rd edition.)

The Reviewer, on the other hand, maintains the old opinion, that the senate merely resolved on the appointment of a dictator, *but left the choice of the particular person to the discretion of one*

of the consuls. Thus all such passages in Livy as *consul dictatorem dixit, dictator ab consule dictus*, Niebuhr understands as a simple nomination or proclamation by the consul, the Reviewer as an absolute election or appointment.

Such is the difference of opinion between Niebuhr and the Reviewer. The subject is a difficult one, and may well admit of discussion; but which of the two opinions is right or wrong, is not the present question for examination. After stating this difference of opinion, the Reviewer adds, that Livy is only made an authority for Niebuhr's view "by having his testimony garbled;" and he then proceeds in the following words to quote five distinct instances of falsification.

"Case I.—Livy (lib. iv. c. 21) says,—‘A Virginio senatus in æde Quirini consulitur. Dictatorem dici Quintum Servilium placet. Virginius dum collegam consuleret moratus, permittente eo, nocte dictatorem dixit:’ ‘The senate was collected in the Temple of Quirinus by Virginius; it was proposed to name Quintus Servilius dictator. Virginius begged for time to consult his colleague; and having obtained his consent, he named Servilius dictator during the night.’ This is a strong passage. Affairs were serious; Rome was menaced; the senate assembled to concert with the consuls on the election of a dictator. They recommended Servilius, but the consul Virginius named him.

"Nevertheless this strong passage is dexterously twisted by Niebuhr into a testimony in his favour. He transcribes the phrase ‘Dictatorem dici A. Servilium placet;’ which seems to say that Servilius was elected by the senate, and omits the following sentence, which positively attributes the election to the consul.

"Case II.—By a similar artifice he cites this passage:—‘Dictator ex senatu-consulto (senatusconsulto) dictus Q. Servilius Priscus,’—as if it were the whole; yet if the reader turn to the original (Livy, lib. iv. c. 46), he will find it followed, a few lines lower, by this, which refutes Niebuhr:—‘Quintus Servilius magistro equitum creato, a quo ipse tribuno militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo,...novo exercitu profectus est ad bellum.’ ‘Quintus Servilius having chosen his own son as master of the horse (the same by whom, in his capacity of military tribune, he had himself been named dictator), set forth with a new army for the wars.’

"This is sufficiently explicit. We know that the military tribunes had the same attributes as the consuls, and it was one of them who elected Servilius dictator. Niebuhr forbears to cite the passage.

"Case III.—Still more glaring is the omission in the passage cited from book vii. chap. 12, ‘Dictatorem dici C. Sulpicium placet!’ In Livy we find this sentence immediately following: ‘Consul ad id accitus C. Plantius, dixit,’ *i. e.* ‘The consul C. Plantius, called to Rome for that purpose, named (dixit) Sulpicius dictator.’

"Case IV.—This is perhaps the worst of the whole. It is an omission of the two words which fix the sense. Livy says, ‘Dictator ab consulibus ex auctoritate senatus, dictus P. C(ornelius) Rufinus’ (Lib. viii. c. 17). ‘The

senate ordered a dictator to be named: Rufinus was named by the consuls.' Niebuhr quotes the sentence thus: 'Dictator ex auctoritate senatus dictus P. C(ornelius) Rufinus,' omitting the words 'ab consulibus.' This is like converting a negative into an affirmative by striking out the not.

"Case V. is the omission of a name, which in this place is of great importance. Livy (lib. ix. c. 28) designates the consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, by their names. At chap. 29, he says, 'Publius Decius, qui graviter æger Romæ restiterat, auctore senatu dictatorem C. J(unium) Bubulcum dixit:' 'Publius Decius, who was retained at Rome by a severe illness, having the authority of the senate, named C. J(unius) Bubulcus dictator.' Of this Niebuhr only cites, 'Auctore senatu, dictatorem C. J(unium) Bubulcum dixit,' again leading the reader to suppose that the senate named the dictator."

After reading these passages, the first thing that strikes one is, that Niebuhr could not have intentionally omitted these words to support his view of the appointment of a dictator, as the insertion of them would not in the least have invalidated his hypothesis. The words for instance which he is charged with having omitted in Case I. "Virginus . . . dictatorem dixit," would merely signify, according to Niebuhr's view, that Virginus *proclaimed* him dictator, for Niebuhr does not allow, which the Reviewer however assumes as an admitted fact, that *dixit* and *dictus* in these passages mean an appointment or election by the consuls. But this is not our answer to the Reviewer's charges. He has accused Niebuhr of having falsified Livy; and the very accusation which he has brought against the historian, we have to bring against him. The Reviewer himself has most unpardonably, we will not say intentionally, falsified Niebuhr. For after perusing the Reviewer's remarks, would not any one presume that the above-cited passages of Livy were quoted by Niebuhr to prove that the election of the dictator was in the hands of the senate, and not in those of the consuls, and that he had purposely omitted the words referring to the consuls in order to establish the former point? But what will be the astonishment of the reader, when he is told that they are not quoted for any thing of the kind; that Niebuhr refers to them merely to prove that in a great number of cases the dictator was appointed *by a decree of the senate*, without any notice of the *populus* or *great body of patricians*? Niebuhr omits the words referring to the *dictio* of the consuls, simply because they have nothing to do with the point he is endeavouring to prove. Whether this *dictio* was a simple *proclamation*, as Niebuhr maintains, or an absolute *appointment*, as the Reviewer believes, was not *the question which Niebuhr was then discussing*. All he wanted

to prove was, that the *senate*, and not the *populus*, appointed the dictator in a great number of cases: the reason why he omitted the *dictio* of the consuls was clearly, we repeat, because it had nothing to do with his argument. Niebuhr did not omit these words because they were opposed to his opinion; he omitted them because they were extraneous to the subject in hand; and in doing so, he merely adopted the course which every sensible writer always adopts under similar circumstances. It is only a waste of space, and distracts the attention of the reader, for a writer to quote a passage at full length, when the context has nothing to do with the subject immediately under discussion. But our readers will say, Is this possible? Can the Reviewer have falsified Niebuhr in this fashion? Can it be true that Niebuhr is not discussing the question as to whether the senate or the consuls had the appointment of the dictator, but merely as to whether the senate frequently made the appointment without the *populus*? There can be no doubt on the point. The five passages quoted by the Reviewer are all contained in note 1254 in the first volume of the History. They are brought forward by Niebuhr to prove the following statement, which we have had occasion to quote already.

“Still oftener, indeed throughout the whole first decad of Livy, do we read of a *decree of the senate* whereby a dictator was appointed, without any notice of the *great council of the patricians*.”

It is unnecessary to say more. We have taken up the great point, on which the Reviewer relied, in order to establish his charges against Niebuhr, and we think it must be evident to every reader, that the Reviewer must have been inexcusably misled by his French guide, who, if he has not been guilty of a “wilful falsification” of Niebuhr, must have misunderstood him most unaccountably. On either supposition M. Poirson deserves the severest reprehension: he has been either strangely dishonest or strangely negligent. We need not make any remark upon the Reviewer’s apology for Niebuhr, whom he finally “acquits of dishonesty,” but “convicts of a most licentious method;” for as the charge itself has fallen to the ground, it is quite unnecessary to enter into the merits of the defence, set up by the Reviewer,—a species of defence, which Niebuhr, if he had been alive, would have rejected, we are sure, with honest indignation.

We might point out some instances, which prove that the Reviewer has not been so careful in making his statements as the importance of the subject demanded, and as the public had a right

to expect; but we confine ourselves to one case. After citing the following observation of Niebuhr's (note 1253):

"The viator, who carries the dictatorship to Cincinnatus, says to him: 'Vela corpus, ut proferam *senatus populi Romani* mandata.' Pliny, xviii. 4.

The Reviewer remarks:—

"But to make this favourable to his views, Niebuhr must translate it thus:—'Cover your person that I may announce to you the orders of the senate and of the people:' with the implication that these 'orders' were for Cincinnatus to become dictator. But neither the translation nor the implication are correct. No act ever emanating from the senate and people was ever called *mandatum*. The invariable custom of all writers is to employ the words *senatus-consultus* (*consultum* is meant), *plebiscitum*, *lex*. Moreover, both Pliny and Livy explain the nature of the orders announced to Cincinnatus: they were not that he should assume the office of dictator, but that he should hasten with all speed to Rome to collect the forces, and march to the deliverance of the army of Minucius, as the delay of a few hours might be fatal."

After these confident assertions what was our amazement, in referring to Pliny, to find the contrary directly stated! The whole passage is as follows: "Aranti quatuor sua jugera in Vaticano, quæ Prata Quinctia appellantur, *Cincinnato viator attulit dictaturam*, et quidem, ut traditur, nudo, plenoque pulveris etiamnum ore. Cui viator, Vela corpus, inquit, ut proferam *senatus populi Romani* mandata." Livy also says (iii. 26) "Qua (toga) simul, absterso pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit, *dictatorem eum legati* gratulantes *consalutant*: in urbem vocant: qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt." Upon turning to M. Poirson's pamphlet (p. 19) we find this passage of Livy quoted in the following way: "Legati in urbem vocant: qui terror sit in exercitu exponunt:" thus omitting the very words which would refute his assertion. And Livy is mutilated in this fashion by a writer who has the effrontery to charge another with the same crime! We had formerly thought it possible that M. Poirson might have misunderstood Niebuhr, but after this clear case of dishonesty, we fear that he must have wilfully misrepresented him. We may indeed adopt M. Poirson's own words: "En vérité c'est trop compter sur la négligence des lecteurs à consulter les originaux, à vérifier les textes pour faire dire aux auteurs anciens l'opposé de ce qu'ils disent en effet." The Reviewer's remarks about the meaning of *mandatum* are scarcely worthy of notice. The word is frequently used in the general sense of a command from a superior to an inferior, and *may therefore be applied to the commands of the senate or popu-*

us. Thus Cicero (*Philipp.* viii. 8) asks, "An ego ab eo mandata acciperem, qui *senatus mandata* contemneret?"

In conclusion, we may be allowed to express a hope, that we have not said any thing personally disrespectful to the Reviewer. Much has not been our intention: and if any word has escaped us, which the Reviewer may consider as personally offensive, we shall be sorry. Our only object has been to vindicate the veracity of one of the most truth-loving men that ever lived, and this we could not do without pointing out the strange misapprehension, to use the mildest word, of his accuser.

WILLIAM SMITH.

XXX.

ON THE MEANING OF "CIVILIZATION."

THE last number of the *Quarterly Review* (No. 144) contains an interesting article on the Life and Works of Sismondi, in which the reviewer mentions Sismondi's *History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, and the Decline of Civilization*, published in 1837; and upon this work he makes the following remarks: "When we have read it, we obtain no clear idea whatever corresponding with the promises of the title—any more than we do by the more celebrated work of M. Guizot, which promises to develop the progress of 'civilization in Europe;' nor shall we, until a definite answer be given to the four following questions, which we assure our readers we have propounded in vain to several of the excellent individuals who are most zealously and conscientiously engaged in the popular associations of the present age, intended for the moral and religious improvement of the whole human race: 1st, What are the specific characteristics and elements of *civilization*? 2nd, What are the benefits secured to the people, and particularly the 'masses,' by *civilization*? 3rd, What are the causes opposing *civilization*? and 4th, Is there ever any practical opposition between *civilization*, and Christianity and the Holy Scripture? *Nowhere* do we find any satisfactory reply: possibly it may not be thought unworthy of the attention of those who employ the term 'civilization,' if they were to attempt to define their own

meaning, as well as the end they propose to attain." (*Q. R.* Vol. LXXII. p. 353).

It is to be presumed that the writer of the above remarks was acquainted with the explanation of the ideas comprised under the term *civilization* which is given by M. Guizot in the first chapter of his lectures on *Civilisation en Europe*; of which explanation a full and distinct analysis has been given in an English review¹. The Quarterly Reviewer has apparently considered this explanation unsatisfactory, on the ground of its too great generality; inasmuch as M. Guizot uses the word 'to denote all kinds of improvement'; so that a history of civilization would, according to his usage of the word, be equivalent to a history of the progress of civil society, in whatever that progress might consist. Without attempting to enter into the wide field of discussion, historical and philosophical, which is opened by the explanation of M. Guizot, and the queries of the Reviewer, I propose to offer some remarks upon the meaning of the term in question, which will be suitable to a philological journal, but which may, at the same time, tend to remove some of the obscurity which the Quarterly Reviewer seems to have found in its signification.

The Latin *civilis* corresponds pretty closely to the Greek πολιτικός; as the one signifies that which belongs to the πόλις, so the other signifies that which belongs to the *civitas*, or state. Thus *civilis scientia* is equivalent to πολιτική ἐπιστήμη (Quintil. II. 15); *jus civile* meant the peculiar law of the Roman state, as opposed to *jus gentium*, the common law of the nations which it had subdued. So *bellum civile* is a war between citizens of the same state, as distinguished from a war against an external enemy. *Vir civilis* is a statesman, a politician; thus Quintilian: "quum vir ille vere civilis et publicarum privatarumque rerum administrationi accommodatus, qui regere consiliis urbes, fundare legibus, emendare judiciis possit, non alius sit profecto quam orator." Proem. §. 10.

¹ *London Review*, Vol. II. p. 313, sqq.

² *London Review*, *ib.* p. 334. A nearly similar view of the import of the term had been taken by the author of the article on the first volume of Drumann's *Roman History*, in a previous number of the *Quarterly Review*. "It is difficult (says the Reviewer) to define that term, which is at present so constantly used in historical discussion, *civilisation*; but if

civilization be the height of moral perfection and greatness, we can by no means assign a pre-eminent place in the comparative estimate of the different races of mankind to the old republican of Rome. He was a noble, a splendid savage, but still he was a savage." &c. *Q. R.* Vol. LVI. p. 350. Some remarks will be made presently as to the extent to which moral qualities are involved in the idea of civilization.

A meaning of *civilis*, easily derived from its etymological significations, but not identical with them, is thus described in the dictionary of Facciolati: "elegantè *civilis* dicitur, qui moderatus est, et eadem cum aliis civibus ratione vivendi et agendi utens, atque adeo humanus, comis, facilis, *cortese*, *affabile*, *civile*, *degenerale*; et dicitur sæpe de viris principibus, qui civiliter et comiter cum inferioribus se gerunt, tamquam si æquo jure cum iis sint." Thus Suetonius says of Vespasian that he was 'civilis et clemens,' Vesp. c. 11, and Tacitus states that the youthful Germanicus had 'civile ingenium, mira comitas,' and manners different from the insolence and gloom of Tiberius, *Ann.* i. 33. In the latter sense, it is equivalent to *δημοτικός*, or *popularis*. The substantive *civilitas* follows the meanings of *civilis*. Quintilian uses it to denote the science or art of government, *ἡ πολιτική*, II. 15. § 33. 17. § 14; and in Suetonius it signifies the mildness and moderation of a beneficent ruler: thus this writer says of Augustus, "Clementiæ civilitatisque ejus multa et magna documenta sunt," c. 51.

Civile, in Italian, nearly retained its Latin significations. Dante uses it to denote the excellence of statesmanship;

Atene e Lacedemona, che fenno
Le antiche leggi, e furon sì civili,
Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
Verso di te.

Purg. vi. 139—42.

Its more common sense made it nearly equivalent to *urbanus* or *δωρεῖος*: "Dicesi a uomo di costumi nobili, e dotato di civiltà. Cortese, gentile, urbano, culto, onesto, galante;" is the explanation in Alberti's dictionary. *Civiltà* is there explained to be "costume e maniera di viver civile, urbanità, gentilezza, costumatezza, creanza." *Civilizzare* is not an old Italian verb: the only example of it cited by Alberti, is from the letters of Count Magalotti, who died in 1712. It may be remarked that *civile* in Italian is equivalent to the French *bourgeois*: "talvolta vale (says Alberti) di condizione tra 'l nobile e 'l plebeo." In Italian *la classe civile* is the *bourgeoisie*, the middle class; in Spanish, it signified a low or mean condition.

The following meanings are (amongst others) attributed by Johnson to the word *civil*: "1. Relating to the community, political, relating to the city or government. 3. Not in anarchy, not wild, not without rule or government. 9. Civilized, not barbarous. 10. Complaisant, civilized, gentle, well-bred, elegant of manners, not rude, not brutal, not coarse," (compare *civilly*).

He defines *civility* to be "1. Freedom from barbarity, the state of being civilized. 2. Politeness, complaisance, elegance of behaviour." To *civilize*, according to Johnson, is "to reclaim from savageness and brutality; to instruct in the arts of regular life:" a *civilizer*, is "he that reclaims others from a wild and savage life; he that teaches the rules and customs of civility."

When Johnson published his dictionary, *civilization* had not become an established word in its modern acceptation. Johnson inserts it, but assigns to it only the legal sense of converting a criminal into a civil proceeding. It occurs in Robertson and Warton; and is used by Burke in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, ed. 1835, 'civiliser' is defined 'rendre civil et sociable, polir les mœurs;' and 'civilisation' is 'action de civiliser, ou état de ce qui est civilisé.'

The preceding definitions from dictionaries are naturally too concise to explain fully the signification of the word; and I will therefore attempt to develop more at large the import of civilization, as it is now commonly understood.

A *civilized* being opposed to a *savage* or *barbarous* state of society, it is necessary that the characteristics of *both* states should be attended to.

1. The idea of civilization (as we have already seen in the history of the word) is closely connected with the idea of *civil government*. A community cannot be civilized, unless it possesses a settled form of government, with a regular administration of justice; and unless the powers of government are exercised in a tolerably mild, humane, and enlightened manner. A society in a state of nature could not be civilized. In like manner, if a civilized society relapsed into a state of anarchy, it would cease to be civilized. An illustration of the intimate connexion between civilization and the existence of civil government is afforded by the well-known anecdote of the man shipwrecked upon an unknown shore, who, on seeing a dead body hanging upon a gibbet, thanked heaven that he was in a civilized country. This sight, however little pleasing it might be under ordinary circumstances, was on this occasion consolatory, inasmuch as it implied an administration of criminal justice, and the punishment of malefactors.

If a government is conducted in a violent and ferocious spirit, and its measures are characterized by short-sighted rapacity and gross indifference to the lives and welfare of the people, it would be called *barbarian*, and it would be contrasted unfavourably with

the governments of *civilised* countries. Hence, as a country becomes more civilized, its government becomes more enlightened and humane; and possesses more of the characteristic excellencies of a government. On the other hand, a community which retrogrades in civilization (as the Roman empire after the age of the Antonines) deteriorates in respect of its government; it is governed with less wisdom, energy, and equity.

A civilized man may be contrasted with a savage; but civilization is in general predicated of a community, or of a body of men, and not of a single individual.

2. Another important element in civilization is a proficiency in the arts and sciences, and in literature. A savage state of society is particularly characterized by an ignorance of the useful arts; such as writing, weaving, architecture, navigation, agriculture, medicine, war. All historians and travellers who describe savage communities, and contrast their state with civilization, dwell upon their ignorance of the useful arts. Thus Gibbon, in his description of the ancient Germans, after having stated that in the age of Tacitus they were unacquainted with the art of writing, proceeds to remark that "the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages incapable of knowledge or reflection³." Afterwards he adds, that "the ancient Germans were wretchedly ignorant of the useful and agreeable arts of life. They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and poverty, which it has pleased some declaimers to dignify with the appellation of virtuous simplicity⁴." In like manner, the change from the savage to the civilized state is in general made to consist chiefly in the acquisition of the useful arts. Thus Prometheus in Æschylus describes himself as having found mankind in a condition scarcely superior to that of the brute animals, and having taught them the risings and settings of the stars, arithmetic and letters, the taming of horses, navigation, medicine, divination, and metallurgy: he sums up his enumeration as follows:

βραχεὶ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε,
πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως. v. 514—5.

So again Lucretius describing, in his 5th book, the progress of mankind from barbarism to civilization, makes that progress

³ *Decline and Fall*, c. ix. (Vol. i. p. 282.)

⁴ *Ib.* p. 283.

consist in the introduction of civil government, and the acquisition of the arts. The following is a part of his picture of savage life:

Nedum res igni scibant tractare, neque uti
 Pellibus, et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum:
 Sed nemora atque cavos montes, sylvasque colebant;
 Et frutices inter condebant squallida membra,
 Verbera ventorum vitare imbresque coacti.
 Nec commune bonum poterant spectare, neque ullis
 Moribus inter se scierant nec legibus uti. V. 951—7.

The progress of civilization is thus described:

Navigia atque agriculturas, mœnia, leges,
 Arma, vias⁵, vestes, et cœtera de genere horum
 Præmia, delicias quoque vitæ funditus omnes,
 Carmina, picturas ac dædala signa, politus
 Usus, et impigræ simul experientia mentis,
 Paullatim docuit pedetentim progredientes.
 Sic unum quidquid paullatim protrahit ætas
 In medium, ratioque in luminis erigit oras.
 Namque alid ex alio clarescere corde videbant
 Artibus, ad summum donec venerè cacumen. Ib. 1447—56⁶.

When it is attempted to civilize a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, the first means which commonly suggest themselves consist in the introduction of useful arts and mechanical inventions; such, for example, as the use of gunpowder, printing, the mariner's compass, the steam-engine, &c.

In order that a community should deserve the name of civilized, it is necessary that a knowledge of the mechanical arts should be generally diffused throughout it, and that their effects should be visible in the habitations, clothing, implements, &c. of the people over the whole country.

The fine arts and literature are perhaps less characteristic of civilization than are the useful arts. Still, so far as their influence extends, they are inconsistent with barbarism, and tend to raise the people from it. The Greeks in Homer's time had but imperfect civil institutions; their mechanical arts were simple and rude; and they were, in all probability, ignorant of writing.

⁵ The mention of *roads* amongst the marks of civilization is characteristic of the Roman; and is worthy of notice as so early a date as that of Lucretius. Wakefield cites the verses of Tibullus, who makes the formation of long lines of road a mark of the existing state of society, as contrasted with the golden

age:

Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, priusquam
 Tellus in longas est patefacta vias. (l. 3. 35).

⁶ Compare Lucian, *Amores*, c. 33, 34, who in like manner makes the progress of mankind from barbarism to civilization consist mainly in the introduction and improvement of the arts.

They can, therefore, scarcely be considered to have been a civilized nation at that time; yet the existence of such poems as those of Homer, and the capacity of the people to enjoy them, were both a sign and a cause of progressive civilization.

Generally, it may be said that an advance in civilization is marked by an increased culture of the understanding, and a higher state of intelligence: whilst ignorance, stupor, apathy, and unreasonable credulity or scepticism, are characteristics of barbarism.

3. Civilization is further distinguished by refinement and gentleness of manners in the relations of private society, and generally by a humane spirit in the intercourse of mankind. According to the verses of Ovid, (which by repeated quotation have acquired the weight of a proverb,) the acquisition of the liberal arts softens the manners, and banishes coarseness; so that refinement and humanity are closely connected with intellectual culture, though not identical with it.

Barbarians are rude and coarse in their manners, and sensual and brutish in their habits. They are moreover quarrelsome, vindictive, cruel, and ferocious. Thus the comic poet describes the animal propensities of barbarians:

οἱ βάρβαροι γὰρ ἄνδρας ἡγούνται μόνους
τοὺς πλείους δυναμένους φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν.

And Tacitus, favourable as is his picture of the Germans, cannot conceal their long potations, often accompanied with bloodshed: (*Germ.* 22.) Savages likewise are distinguished by their inhumanity towards the weak and unprotected, as prisoners taken in war: for a like reason they in general treat their women as slaves. The existence of a different usage in the latter respect among the ancient Germans, is one of the sparks of civilization which can be discerned in the midst of their primitive rudeness.

On the other hand, a civilized people are distinguished by refinement and gentleness of manners, by the avoidance of all that offends or gives pain in the intercourse of private life. Accordingly, the feelings which have grown out of the customs and ideas of chivalry; the character of a gentleman, and the general behaviour which this character implies; belong peculiarly to civilization. And thus the word *civility*, which formerly bore the present meaning of *civilization*, has, in the modern European languages, become synonymous with *courtesy*.

Humanity, in an enlarged sense, is certainly a characteristic of civilization, though some civilized nations have not possessed it in an eminent degree. In the project for civilizing Africa by means of the Niger expedition, (one of the projects to which the Quarterly Reviewer appears to refer), it was assumed, that if the native tribes acquired the habits of civilization, they would disuse the practice of mutual warfare for the purpose of making slaves. Civilization therefore, in the view of the framers of this plan, was thought (and justly) to imply such an amount of intelligence and humanity as would deter the native tribes from the atrocious wars which they now wage against one another, with the object just stated. The plan would doubtless have been successful, if the native Africans could have been civilized by the means which were employed to civilize them.

If a community possesses the three marks which have been enumerated, it may properly be considered as civilized, whatever may be its *moral* or *religious* state. And accordingly civilization is often, if not opposed to morality or religion, at least distinguished from them. For example, it might be said that the upper classes in some of the chief countries of Europe during the last century were highly civilized, but not moral or religious. On the other hand, many writers have celebrated the virtues of savages; and have supposed that the primitive simplicity, which characterizes the state of nature, is eminently favourable to morality. Thus Ovid, while he rejoices that he lived in a polished and luxurious age, probably would not have doubted the stern virtues of the rude times which had passed:

Prisca juvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum

Gratulator; hæc ætas moribus apta meis.

Non quia nunc, &c.

Sed quia cultus adest; nec nostros mansit in annos

Rusticitas priscis illa superstes avis. *De A. A.* III. 121—8.

And writers who would not have shared in the imaginations of Rousseau, have thought that the refinements of civilization are dangerous to some of the virtues⁷. It is however to be remarked that the gentleness and refinement of manners which characterize

⁷ "Although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity, whose most dangerous enemy is the softness of the mind. The refinements of life corrupt while they polish the intercourse of the sexes," &c. Gibbon, c. 9. Compare Dante, *Parad.* xv. 97—135.

civilization, are a moral good, as far as they go; and that humanity, in an extended sense, is the corner-stone of morality. Moreover, the development of Christianity enters largely into the idea of modern civilization. Thus Burke, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, says: "Nothing is more certain than that our manners, our civilization, and all the good things which are connected with manners and with civilization, have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles, and were indeed the result of both combined; I mean the spirit of a gentleman, and the spirit of religion*." And it is uncertain whether the epithet civilized would be conceded to any existing community which is not Christian. It may be added, that amongst an uncivilized people, in a low state of intelligence, even Christianity loses its distinctive attributes, and becomes little better than a mechanical superstition, as is proved by the accounts of some of the Eastern Churches.

G. C. LEWIS.

* Works, Vol. v. p. 154. ed. 8vo. 1815.

XXXI.

MISCELLANIES.

REMARKS ON TRANSLATION.

WORDS, and symbols—which latter include sculpture and painting—are the only medium of communication between the generations of mankind. We shall speak chiefly of the first, and most enduring; referring to the latter occasionally in illustration.

The medium of an author's thoughts must be his words; words are the sole material by which he permanently expresses what has passed in his mind; they are the only form and image his ideas assume in developing a particular train of thought or condition of emotion. The only merit therefore in a translation is that of giving the words of an author in another language, as nearly by equivalents as possible. It is true that there are many words, and innumerable phrases and idioms, which cannot be exactly rendered in any other language; but so far from this being a justification for running wild into paraphrase and conjectural circumlocution, it constitutes a yet stronger reason for following the original words as closely as possible, so that all those which *can* be accurately rendered, may assist in explaining the intended meaning of those which *cannot* be accurately rendered. Then at all events we know what we have to trust to; without this be done, we have no security for any one thing. No professions of admiration and thorough comprehension on the part of the translator are any excuse for abandoning the words of his author. The instant a man says, 'I will give the *spirit* of the author in the words that author would have used had he lived now, and written in this other language,' it is all over with the original. Translation, in such a case, becomes a mere cover for individual egotism and vanity,—often for presumption—always for something other than it pretends to be. Sometimes it will be necessary to render one idiom by another, as one proverb may often be rendered by another; but the literal words of the original should be given in a note. The same argument is applicable to all obscure or doubtful passages, and a translator might be addressed to this effect:—Let us know what this writer *did* say in his own words, as closely as they can be rendered by equivalents, and not what you think he *meant* to say. If you do not consider his meaning clear enough, another reader may find it quite clear; and if the original be really obscure, that is not your fault. Do not venture upon a remedy which would open the door for future licence, and destroy our confidence. Give the world a fair opportunity of judging for itself; and then, out of all these judgments, (instead

of your *one*) the original will have the best chance of being understood. If you find him at times very dull, wrong, or perhaps nonsensical, do not seek to make him right, lively, or inspired; let us have what he said, as he said it. If we had better be spared a certain portion of dulness or prolixity, let the omission be confessed, and a due reference made to the original; but what we are given of his, let it be truly his, as closely as possible, and then all parties will be fairly dealt with—the original author, his translator, and the public. In fine—we want to know as nearly as we can, through the medium of another language, what that man *said*, not what you can *make* of his words.

Preposterous and unanswerable are the instances of the abuse and perversion of the true principle of translation in most languages, and in no language are there any worse than in our own. The reproach is far less applicable to the French (except in translating poetry), and hardly applicable at all to the Germans during the last 20 or 25 years; but with us, the specimens of licentious paraphrase or unfaithfulness are conspicuous in almost every branch of literature down to the present time. The English translator of a work of science or theology will continually be found to warp the meaning of the text according to his own particular views; the translator of history polishes, corrects, and omits; and the translator (as he calls himself) of poetry generally substitutes some verses of his own, founded upon the subject of the original—and this, almost invariably, in cases of difficulty. The principal exception to this accusation will probably be found in the translations of late years, which have been made from two or three of the Greek tragedies, and from the same number of German works, which being well-known and a sort of 'exercise,' have become a challenge to rivalries, and have therefore had proportionate pains taken with them,—how far successfully or otherwise is left for abler hands to discuss. It is only our purpose at present to speak of the true principle of translation, and to allude cursorily to a few of the most striking examples.

The English language is lamentably deficient in faithful translations of the ancients; indeed, it may be said, that for the literature of this country the whole business of translating the ancients has yet to be done. Those which we most read are, unfortunately, the least like the originals. Of Herodotus, simple, naive, and truthful, I believe the translation that is read most, is one that was made from a French translation. What sort of a translation we have of Plutarch's Lives, is ably shown in a number of the *Journal of Education*. A good translation of Plutarch's Lives would be one of the greatest benefits that can be conferred upon our literature, for there is scarcely any ancient writer who furnishes such a quantity of information, and is at the same time calculated to exercise such a wholesome ethical influence as Plutarch.

If a lover of "the oriental" would wish to receive both pleasure and astonishment, let him compare the recent translation of the Arabian Nights with the old one, of which millions of copies must have been sold and read by people of all ages: they are not like the same work. How turgid and mawkish are our versions of Pindar and Theocritus! How, also, has "dear Don Quixote" suffered in his time! We have no faithful translation of Juvenal; still less of Ovid; and Dryden's Virgil might have been written by him without Virgil. The translations from Horace are scarcely a jot closer to the original than Lord Byron's songs *entitled* "Hebrew Melodies" are to the Hebrew. It is not intended by these remarks to impugn the scholarship of any of those translators, but simply to show that their principle was erroneous and "beside the mark." Perhaps it may be said, that with regard to translating poetry, our tendency to do so in *rhyme*, is at the root of the evil. There may be much in that, but the evil itself is the false principle; it is the substitution of the translator's mind for the mind of the man translated. Therefore the blank verse (rarely used) is, for the most part, as unfaithful as the rhyme, whenever any difficult passage occurs, or one of more than ordinary energy and ornament. In the latter case, the translator is hampered by his notion of the laws of metre, and his fears of being thought rugged, or of giving "a school-boy version." O, that we could once see a good, innocent, truthful, schoolboy-like translation of a great author!—for that would be a right beginning, and constitute a new "school of translation" in this country, where it is so much needed. But nearly all these versifications are rhymed, and polished up on the model of Pope's dulcet monotony, the metrical system of ten-syllable finger-counting, instead of allowing any guidance of the ear in the "beats of time," which lead to the energetic freedom of rhythmic harmonies. To that narrow scholastic metre-law, and to the rhymes, anything that appeared obscure or obstinate on the part of the original, has been sacrificed without the slightest hesitation.

Perhaps there is no instance of the licentious spirit of English translations more complete than in those purporting to be from Homer. The name of George Chapman, I mention with reverence and admiration; but his truly-grand version of Homer must nevertheless be declared *no* translation. Chapman's version of Homer is a paraphrase by a kindred spirit; that of Pope is a paraphrase in his own spirit. The works might be appropriately contra-distinguished as "Homer's Chapman," and "Pope's Homer." By his in-door modern life, his drawing-room associations, his mechanical refinements and polished grace, his tasteful timidities and general misgivings, Pope was the natural opposite of Homer, and one of the very last men who should have meddled with his works: but Chapman, by his *commanding energies, fulness of faith in his author's genius, and in his*

own inspired sympathies, his primitive power, and rough truthfulness of description, was the very man for the purpose, had he not been misled by the common notions of translation. He gives Homer's narrative as he feels it. Pope produced his own idea of Homer, and in his own (Pope's) peculiar words, with little reference to the words of the original; and this has been read to an immense extent; destroying the ears of the schoolboys and men, of at least two generations, for any sense of the varied harmonies of rhythm: Chapman produced in his own words, and often in his own images, a glorious adumbration of the effect of Homer upon the energies of his soul. When we consider the subtle influence of poetry upon the rising spirits of the age, it tempts me to hazard the speculation that, if Chapman's noble paraphrase had been read instead of Pope's enervating monotony, and as extensively, the present class of general readers would not only have been a more poetical class—as the fountain-head from the rock is above the artificial cascade in a pleasure-ground—but a finer order of human beings, in respect of energy, love of nature at first-hand, and faith in their own impulses and aspirations. If there be any degree of truth in this philosophy, then must the importance of correct translations of the great spirits of antiquity, become the more apparent.

Painting may be said to be translated into various prints; sculpture into various casts; musical compositions into various orchestras, or by various instrumental and vocal performers. How very badly these translations are generally given, need not be remarked; but then, there are some extremely fine engravings, which do ample justice to most of the higher characteristics of a painting; some casts which do justice in all respects to the original; and some instrumental and vocal performers who duly translate into musical sounds the work of the composer. The parallel is not intended as a logical argument, but is only adduced in illustration of our subject. The fine arts, at all events, are not so unhandsomely treated as literature; for while there are some admirable translations or re-productions of their works in other forms and other countries, the very bad versions, continually given, are known and denounced as such; and a wretchedly executed print, cast, or piece of music, is at once treated with contempt, and considered a stigma upon the taste of its possessor or performer. Not so with literature, hitherto; for there are a number of "translations" which few "gentlemen's libraries are without" which do most seriously impugn their taste, as well as the honesty of English men of letters.

I recently had occasion to compare together a French and an English translation of a German philosophical work. The point at issue was a certain part of the theology of Albertus Magnus. The

German author gave the opinions of Albertus just as they stand in his own works; the French translator (Victor Cousin) gave the account as he found it in the German work; and the English translator gave the kind of version which would render it palatable to his own sect. A translator of this class little thinks of the extent to which he may injure his work in a reader's mind,—for when we have once discovered a single passage dealt with in this manner, it naturally destroys our faith in all the rest. Let me be exonerated from the least wish to cast any odium upon respected names on account of any of the so-called translations which are among us; it was the regular system in their time—has been thought the best ever since—is still practised to a great extent—and all I wish to do is to protest against it, with a view to the promulgation of the true principle, and to call upon competent scholars to give to their nation what has so long been wanted—faithful translations of the ancients.

It is a great pleasure to be able to say that a true principle of translation has appeared among us, some years since, as well as recently; but the instances are very few. I allude to Lord Thurlow's modernization of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, which is done on the true principle—word for word with the original, wherever it was possible, and (so far as I examined it) without the interpolation of a single line—and is an honour to his memory. Mr. Wordsworth has also adopted the same plan on two or three occasions. The most recent specimens of good translations from the Greek are those of the *Cyclops* of Euripides, and Frere's translations of Aristophanes and Theognis. The last instance of an excellent translation from a living language with which I am acquainted, is that of Calderon's *La Vida es Sueño*, by Mr. John Oxenford, which is singularly faithful, and line for line with the original wherever that is possible.

Very few instances of pretended translation have been here particularized, because to name a few is to name nearly all; and, besides, every body who has examined our translations is well aware of what they are.

A concluding remark may be offered on the frequently repeated assertion that no language can truly be translated into another language; and that poetry, in especial, will not bear translation, and is, in fact, lost. This is partially true with regard to poetry; for its music, from which, as an art, it is inseparable, is always liable to be perverted or utterly lost. But this applies with little force to any other class of writing. In works of philosophy, we can always have by translation the principles, the deductions, the truths; in science, we can have the facts, the experiments, the practical results; in history, the events, the knowledge; and even in poetry, we can have the design, subject, ruling principle, fable, allegory, the main ideas and images—and sometimes, a

form and melody closely answering to the original, though far more commonly the original form and melody will be quite lost. The music of poetry is its art; and although its art is not its sole element, yet is it the only medium whereby a full development can be obtained. Certain forms of expression are peculiar to most languages, and must, so far, influence translations of all kinds of works. A given passage bearing a certain form in one language, will be beautiful, which bearing the same form in another language may be barbarous; in these cases, therefore, the original form is an essential part—not *all* the essence. The difficulties attending faithful translations are great and manifold, no doubt; but surely this can be no reason why they should be executed in the worst possible way—*viz.*, with special reference to the individualities of the translator, and with no respect for the words of the original author.

R. H. HORNE.

ON THE SCENE OF THE PHÆDRUS OF PLATO.

THERE are few natural scenes so forcibly brought before us in Greek literature, as that of the opening of Plato's dialogue of the Phædrus. And as no Greek topographer has pointed out its exact site, a few words may not be ill placed in fixing it.

The Ilissus has a character of its own, very different from the vague ideas with which we are accustomed to invest it. The probable etymology of its name (*εἰλέω*, *volvo*) well accords with its appearance: "anfracta riparum incurvus Elissos," which is the description given by Statius (*Theb.* iv. 52) of its namesake in Thessaly, is well applied by Colonel Leake (2nd edit. *Athens*, i. 134) to the Ilissus itself. It is a mere mountain-torrent, in summer usually only a dry gravelly bed, in winter, at times sufficiently swollen with rain as to fall in a slight cascade over the rocks by the spring of Callirhoe—and till it emerges into the open plain of the Limne, south of the city of Athens, where it is soon lost, it winds its way between two steep banks, broken with rock—being in fact the last undulations of the wild slopes of Hymettus, descending on the plain of Athens. On those slopes, running up into the desolate bosom of the mountain, the early Pelasgian inhabitants of the country, when driven from Athens by the Hellenic race, still hovered, as if to keep within sight of their ancient home, exactly as the modern banditti have been known to do in later times—and the visit of the Athenian women to get water from the Ilissus, would naturally invite them to make those predatory descents described by Herodotus (vi. 137). Such being the wild character of the scenery in general, which helps us to understand the complete retirement and seclusion of the scene, remote

from the bustle of the city, to which Socrates is invited by Phædrus—the particular spot is no less in exact accordance with the express words of Plato. Two or three stadia, *i. e.* about 500 yards above the church of St. Peter Stauromenos, which is built out of an ancient temple, justly identified with that of Artemis Agræa, there is a sharp turn in the stream where it descends more immediately from Hy-mettus, and in doing so an opening occurs in the rocky banks, which forms just such a marked place as would invite a pause in the walk of the two conversers. There is exactly the small grassy plot or slope (κομψόπατον τὸ τῆς πόας ἐν ἡρέμα προσάντει),—the less confined banks, which would admit of the gentle air (πνεῦμα μέτριον)—the thick shrubs of agnus castus¹ (τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον), which fills indeed the whole course of the stream, and in summer adorns it with its white and purple flowers, but luxuriates especially on this spot;—the spring rising from beneath one of the rocks, and trickling into the brook, which therefore has generally a small pool of water here, even when dry elsewhere² (πηγή χαριστάτη). The plane-tree indeed is gone with so many of the trees, which, even up to the time of the late Greek war, shaded this side of Athens. A neighbouring convent, for example, before that time was surrounded with a grove of palms, not one of which now remains: and it is probably owing to the loss of its planes, that the Ilissus is now a more scanty stream than it would have been when it had to be crossed by the bridge, where two picon still exist opposite the stadium. But immediately overhanging this little plot of open ground is a rocky knoll, which closes it on the north, about fifteen feet high, on the top of which is a small chapel of S. George, and in the crumbling sides of which is a small cavern (see Gell's *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 93). To those who know how almost invariably a Greek temple was succeeded by a Christian church, and also how essential a cavern was to the worship of the very gods, who are said by Plato to have been there honoured, it will be evident how this tends to fix the locality, especially when it is considered that no such features are found in any other part of the neighbourhood, sufficiently in accordance with the distances indicated by Plato. Doubtless on that rocky knoll stood a small shrine, and in that rugged cave were placed those offerings to Pan and the nymphs which Socrates saw, and which so exactly accord with the worship which we know to have been paid to them in the cavern of Pan under the Acropolis, at Marathon, in the Corcyrian cave, and of which such

¹ The modern Greek name of agnus castus is λυγανέα—or λυγος—in the vulgar dialect about Athens, καβεντζα.

² The confusions about the spring of *Castalis* and *Callirhoe*, noticed in the

article on Greek Topography in our first Number, would account for the application of the term πηγή to what would not be strictly deserving of the name of spring.

remarkable traces remain in the grotto on Hymettus, described in Dr. Wordsworth's *Athens*, p. 158. Nor is this without its significance in the dialogue itself. And the rocky protuberances of the place are themselves the tokens of the worship of the gods called by the Greeks *χθόνιοι*. The peculiar characteristic of all their sanctuaries consists of the simplest elements—of the earth bursting forth from her inmost recesses—springs rushing from deep clefts in mountains, as at Delphi, Lebadea, and the Pnyx—rocks shewing themselves (to use the language of geology) in strength, as at the hill of Colonos, the Areopagus, and the spot in question,—all of them sacred to the deities especially termed *χθόνιοι*. Any one who has ever seen an ancient statue of Pan—one such, for example, was lately discovered at the Piræus—and calls to mind the exquisite comic expression of his face, and the grotesqueness of his whole figure, will see what a playful character all the allusions to the worship of the spot impart to the dialogue generally, and how mistaken, though pleasing, is the view which could discern a solemn prayer in the concluding speech of Socrates (see Sewell's *Dialogues of Plato*), when in fact it was merely that cheerful banter with the drollery of the quaint deity who presided there, such as would naturally flow from the lips of the great master at once of Grecian philosophy and Grecian irony.

A. P. S.

DR. CRAMER'S ANECDOTA GRÆCA.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

SIR,

I SEND you a few pages of remarks on some of the medical extracts contained in Dr. Cramer's *Anecdota Græca*, though I am afraid you will hardly consider them of sufficient general interest to deserve a place in the *Classical Museum*. I think, however, that such of your readers as possess the work may like to correct in the margin of their copy the following errata, which accordingly I have noticed in the shortest possible way. To any one who is at all acquainted with the literature and technical terms of ancient medicine, they will (I am well aware,) appear obvious enough, though by any one else they might easily be passed over unobserved. I have not noticed the work by Meletius *De Natura Hominis*, which occupies half of one of the volumes, as to have corrected all the most important mistakes contained in it would have trespassed too much on your pages on the present occasion: perhaps, however, I may be allowed to notice them on some future opportunity.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. A. GREENHILL, M.D.

Anecd. Græca [Oxon.] Vol. III.

p. 188, 189. Of the eight physicians mentioned here, Soranus, Hippocrates, Galen, Herophilus, and Herodotus were celebrated men; the names of Trypho and Hero occur in two or three other passages; but Herodianus may be added to the list of ancient physicians given by Fabricius in his *Biblioth. Gr.*, and by Haller in his *Biblioth. Medic. Pract.*, nor (as far as I am aware,) is he mentioned any where else.

p. 190, l. 4. τὰ πρὸς Πίσωνα—τοῦ σου Γαληνοῦ] *i.e.* his treatise, Πρὸς Πίσωνα περὶ τῆς Θηριακῆς.

p. 412, l. 7. Ἐρυσερμὸς] *read* Χρύνσερμος. His name occurs several times in ancient authors: the story in the text is taken from Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhon. Hypotyp.* i. 14, § 84.

Anecd. Gr. [Oxon.] Vol. IV.

p. 119, l. 11. In the celebrated epitaph on Acron of Agrigentum, Tzetzes mistakes ἄκρου for the name of his father, which however was Xenon.

p. 255, l. 16. Πολέμων] See his *Physiognom.* i. 6.

p. 319, l. 1. Ἀντίγονος.] See *Hist. Mirab.* cap. 10.

Anecd. Gr. Paris. Vol. I.

p. 340, l. 20. The comma after γένηται disturbs the sense, and should be placed after σπέρματος in the next line, where it is wanted.

p. 340, l. 22. μέρους τι] *read* μέρος τι, as in Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* t. v. p. 130; Cf. Plut. *De Phys. Philos. Decr.* v. 6; Gal. *De Hist. Philos.* c. 32, tom. XIX. p. 323 ed. Kühn.

p. 340, l. 23. ἐξυγραινομένην] *read*—μένη, as in Fabr.

p. 340, l. 25. οἶον ὕλη] *read* οἶον δὲ ὕλη, as in Fabr.

p. 340, l. 29. The semicolon should be after. χολάς, and the comma after ἀμφοτέρων.

p. 340, l. 30. ἐπ' ἔλαττον] These words have been supplied from Fabr.; probably the ἐπ' should be omitted.

p. 341, l. 9. ἀρρένοπώτερον] *read* ἀρρένωπότερον.

p. 341, l. 16. σαρκώσεις] Both Galen p. 326. and Plutarch c. 9. *read* σαρκώδης, without a semicolon.

p. 341, l. 21. παρέγκλησιν] *read* παρέγκλισιν, which, if we give to the *i* the sound it bears in modern Greek, and pronounce the word according to the *accent* and not the *quantity*, will have exactly the same sound as the word in the text.

p. 341, l. 24. ἀσύληπτον] *read* ἀσύλληπτον.

p. 394, l. 25. *Varia Antiq. Medicor. Remedia*] Most of these prescriptions are to be found in Galen, *De Compos. Medicam. sec. Locos*, from which work they have probably been taken: several errors may be corrected by a reference to Galen.

p. 394, l. 26. Ἀρχιγένους περίπλασμα καὶ ἐπιθέματα, κ. τ. λ.] *read* περιπλάσματα. Galen quotes from Archigenes as follows: περιπλάσμασι δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέμασι τοιούτοις τισὶ χρῶ. (Lib. v. c. 5. tom. XII. p. 859.)

- p. 394, l. 27. Τιμοκράτους] See Galen, p. 887, who after πρὸς ἡλα adds πλαδῶντα, μυδῶντα, αἵμασσόμενα, κ. τ. λ.
- p. 394, l. 28. Αὐριλλίου] read Αὐρηλίου, as in Galen, p. 892.
- p. 394, l. 29. Τιμοκράτους σμῆμα κ. τ. λ.] See Galen, p. 889, who reads σμῆγμα.
- p. 394, l. 31. Πυθίου πρὸς σεισμένους ὀδόντας] read σειομένους, as in Galen, p. 879.
- p. 394, l. 32, 33. Διοκλέους, Κρίτωνος] See Galen, p. 880.
- p. 394, l. 34. αὐθημερῶν] read αὐθημερόν. Galen, in what may perhaps be the parallel passage, reads αὐθωρόν, (p. 877.)
- p. 394, l. 35. προφυλακτήριον] read προφυλακτικόν. See Galen, p. 875.
- p. 395, l. 1. πρὸς πᾶσαν ὀδόντων ἀδ.] ἀδ. should be ὀδ., and would then be the beginning of the word ὀδύνην. See Galen, p. 877.
- p. 395, l. 2. τοῦ Ἀφροδᾶ (sic)] From his having added the word sic," it would seem that the editor considers the name Ἀφροδᾶ to be corrupt, which, however, it is not. Ἀφρόδας, or Ἀφροδᾶς, (for the name is found sometimes with one accent, sometimes with the other, though probably the circumflex is the true one,) is frequently quoted by Galen, though nothing is known of the events of his life. The present prescription appears to be taken from Galen, p. 878.
- p. 395, l. 2. Ἀριστοκράτους] See Galen, p. 878.
- p. 395, l. 3. Μενεκράτους] See Galen, p. 947.
- p. 395, l. 3. Μεμφίτου] Galen, in what seems to be the parallel passage, p. 946, reads Μελίτου, a name which (as far as I am aware,) does not occur elsewhere as belonging to a physician. If Μεμφίτου be the true reading, the person quoted will be Apollonius Memphites, who wrote a work on *Materia Medica*, which seems to have enjoyed some reputation, as it is quoted by several ancient authors. See the *Biogr. Dict.* of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
- p. 395, l. 5. Ἀσκληπιάδου] See Galen, p. 947. This Asclepiades is not the most celebrated physician of that name, commonly called "Asclepiades *Bithynus*," but a writer on *materia medica* called "Asclepiades *Pharmacion*," who is frequently quoted by Galen. See *Biogr. Dict.* of the U. K. S.
- p. 395, l. 5. Ἀριστοκλέους] See Galen, p. 936.
- p. 395, l. 6. πρὸς συνάσχεις (sic)] read πρὸς συνάγchas.
- p. 395, l. 7. Ἀνδρομάχου] See Galen, p. 938.
- p. 395, l. 8. Κρίτωνος] See Galen, p. 987.
- p. 395, l. 9. Σωρανοῦ] See Galen, p. 956.
- p. 395, l. 10. Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἡροφίλου] read Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἡροφιλείου, a very common error. This prescription is taken from the first book of his *Εὐπόριστα*. See Galen, p. 995. This Apollonius is probably a different person from the Apollonius "Memphites" mentioned above. See *Biogr. Dict.* of the U. K. S.

p. 395, l. 11, 12. The two next prescriptions I have not found, though probably they are also taken from Galen.

p. 395, l. 13. Ταραντινὸς Ἡρακλείδης] *read* ὁ Ταραντῖνος Ἡρακλ., as in Galen, p. 957.

p. 395, l. 15, &c. Several of the proper names in the following extract are corrupt, but some of them can be corrected with tolerable certainty.

p. 395, l. 19. Ὑπόληφος] This name is certainly corrupt, but the correction is not perfectly satisfactory. The writer is tracing the mythological history of Medicine, which he says was first discovered by Apollo, who communicated it to the Centaur, by whom it was imparted to Æsculapius, who taught it "to his children, (τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ,) who were Podalirius and Hypolephus" (οἱ ἦσαν Ποδαλείριος καὶ Ὑπόληφος). The only name that occurs to me at the moment as at all likely to be that of the person meant, is *Hippolochus*, the son of Podalirius; and if we give to the *υ* the sound of the English *e*, (as in modern Greek,) and pronounce the word according to the *accent* instead of the *quantity*, the two names Ἱππόλοχος and Ὑπόληφος will not sound so very much unlike. I do not, however, consider this emendation to be by any means certain; and I shall be glad if any of your readers will suggest a more satisfactory one.

p. 395, l. 20, &c. The writer next proceeds to name the founders of the different medical sects, and the principal physicians belonging to them. He begins with the Empirici¹, of whom he names four, viz., Acron of Agrigentum, Philinus of Cos, Σαραπίας of Alexandria, and Σεργέστας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. Each of these names requires a few words of comment.

p. 395, l. 21. Ἀκρων Ἀκραγαντῖνος] The writer appears to have followed Pliny, (*Hist. Nat.* xxix. 4. ed. Tauchn.) in attributing to Acron the founding of the sect of the Empirici; this is, however, probably a mistake, as it is expressly said by the author of the treatise *Introductio*, printed among Galen's works, (tom. xiv. p. 683) that the followers of this sect claimed Acron as their founder, only in order to boast of a greater antiquity than the Dogmatici.

p. 395, l. 21. Φίλιος ὁ Κῶος] Philinus (Φιλίνος,) is generally considered as the original founder of the sect.

p. 395, l. 21. Σαραπίας ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς] *read* Σεραπίων ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, who was in a manner the second founder of the sect.

p. 395, l. 22. Σεργέστας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος] This fourth name is rather obscure, though it certainly does *not* mean "Serxestas Apolloniensis," (See *Ind. Auct.* p. 410) as we should then find Ἀπολλωνιάτης. For Σεργέστας, we should probably read Σέξτος, who is said by the

¹ Ἐκ τῆν ἐμπειρίαν ἱατρικὴν, *read* τῆν ἐμπειρικὴν ἱατρικὴν.

author of the *Introductio*, (c. 4. p. 683,) to have belonged to this sect, and who is therefore commonly called "Sextus Empiricus." Ἀπολλώνιος appears to be the name of one of the two Apollonii of Antioch, father and son, who are said by the same author to have belonged to this sect, and in that case, for Σεργέστας ὁ, we must read Σέξτος καί. There is an obvious difficulty in adopting this latter conjecture, viz. that this would make *five* names, whereas the writer expressly says he mentions only *four*. Perhaps, however, the error may belong, not to the transcriber, but to the author himself, "Neophytus Monachus," who may have mistaken Ἀπολλώνιος for Ἀπολλωνιάτης, and therefore mentions only *four* names, when he should have mentioned *five*. He might have added several other names, *e. g.* Menodotus, Heraclides, Herodotus, Glaucias, &c.; and in like manner several might have been added to the lists of the Dogmatici and Methodici which follow. With respect to the last-mentioned sect, only three physicians are mentioned, two of whom are miscalled.

p. 395, l. 26. Μεθήσων] This mistake I have already corrected in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, and therefore quote the note at p. 308 of Vol. xxiv. art. "Themison:"—"In this last passage the name is written Μεθήσων, which error is left unnoticed by the editor, but may readily be accounted for by recollecting that the vowels ι and η have in Romaic exactly the same sound, and that for many centuries past Greek words have been pronounced by the Greeks according to the *accent*, and not according to the *quantity*; so that a transcriber might easily confound two names so much alike as *Theméson* and *Methéson*."

p. 395, l. 26. Μονόμαχος] read Μενέμαχος, as in Pseudo-Galen, tom. xiv. p. 684.

Vol. iii. p. 14, l. 32. Ἀντίπατρος κ. τ. λ.] This quotation is said by one of the other scholiasts on Homer (p. 306. ed. Bekker) to come from the second book of his work Περὶ Ψυχῆς, which therefore may very possibly be the treatise mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (vii. § 157), and attributed by Fabricius and others to Antipater of Tarsus. See the *Biogr. Dict.* of the U. K. S.

p. 205, l. 2. Ρούφος] The quotation from Rufus Ephesius (*De Appell. Part. Corp. Hum.* p. 32. ed. Clinch) is not rightly marked by the editor: it begins at τὰ μετὰ κ. τ. λ. in l. 2; and ends at καλοῦσι in l. 4, not at σημαίνει in l. 6.

p. 289, l. 36. In the quotation from Oppian (*Halieut.* i. 134) μῶνος is the word to be supplied.

Vol. iv. p. 53, l. 23. The verses from Nicander (*Ther.* 526) are written as follows in Schneider's edition:—

σπέρμαθ' ὅσον κύμβοιο τραπεζήεντος ἐλέσθαι
καρδύκῃ ἐντρίψας πιεῖν ὀφίεσσιν ἀρωγὴν.

p. 196, l. 1. This is rather a singular list of eminent physicians,

omitting several very important names, and inserting some that are (to us, at least,) almost entirely unknown. Φιλάμενος in l. 4 should be written Φιλούμενος, as in Oribasius, *Collecta Medic.* XLV. 24 (in the fourth vol. of Mai's *Classici Auctores*, &c. p. 61). *Dionides* in l. 5 (if the name be correct,) may be added to the list of ancient physicians given by Fabricius and Haller.

MANUSCRIPTS OF ÆSCHYLUS.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

SIR,

PERMIT me to put a question to the classical world through the medium of your publication. In the preface to Medwin's translation of Æschylus' *Prometheus*, published in 1832, the following passage occurs: "One thing I still lament, that the Escorial MSS. had not been collated before I began my imperfect and unworthy labours." Then follows in a note: "Mr. Fedor is now occupied in this undertaking, from which much may be expected. There have been discovered in the Escorial several MSS. of the *Agamemnon*, and I believe of some of the other plays, which it is hoped will clear up much of that obscurity that every subsequent edition only serves to increase. These long mislaid MSS. came from the Arabs, and their history is a singular one. They are said to have been stolen from the library at Constantinople, and taken in a wrecked pirate vessel" (pp. iv. v.) I find no account of these newly-discovered MSS. in the most recent editors of the *Agamemnon*, Klausen and Peile: but I am willing to hope that some of your readers may be better informed on the point, and will communicate what is known about it through the channel of your Museum.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN CONINGTON.

XXXII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

DIE HELDENSAGE DER GRIECHEN NACH IHRER NATIONALEN GELTUNG. Von Gregor Wilhelm Nitzsch. Kiel, 1841.

THE short treatise bearing the above title, from the pen of the distinguished author of so much excellent commentary on Homer, was originally printed in the *Kieler Philologische Studien*, and has since been published separately. It treats of the general characteristics of Grecian legend, the primitive creation and at one time the only possession of Hellenic genius: and amongst the number of German works which have been devoted to this very enticing subject, I can name few which appear to me to contain in the same space so much both of just remark and apposite illustration¹.

The main purpose of Nitzsch's treatise is to consider the Grecian legends not *objectively*, with reference to readers or hearers of all ages and all countries, but *subjectively*, with reference to the Greeks themselves—not to detect and weigh out what portions of historical or philosophical truth may lie hidden among these many-coloured narratives, but to inquire with what feelings they were regarded by the Grecian public specially; in what degree distinction was made between one narrative and another, and how far the spirit of reverential faith was intersected by criticism or by partial suppressions and transformations.

A few years ago, Nitzsch remarks, it was customary to distinguish too pointedly between Grecian legend and Grecian epic poetry. The legend was treated as having originally been so much history, orally handed down from the supposed date of the events recounted, but in process of time more or less garbled, distorted, or exaggerated: so that by eliminating such corruptions or exaggerations the original nucleus of history might be again recovered. The epic, on the other hand, was regarded as poetry purely and simply, having no necessary base for its materials in the legends of the country.

The researches of the last few years have tended to shew that the matters handled in the ancient epic were of the nature of current legend, but some inquirers, among whom Nitzsch reckons Niebuhr, have pushed the identity of the two a step too far: they have reasoned

¹ The author of the present notice greatly regrets, on many accounts, that he did not become acquainted with this treatise of Nitzsch until after the publi-

cation of his article in the *Westminster Review* of last April, on the *Heroem-Legenden* of Niebuhr.

as if there were no popular legends except those which found place more or less in song. Having recognized the legendary character of the early Roman history, Niebuhr inferred, without sufficient evidence, that such legends must have existed either in the form of popular ballads or as portions of considerable epopees. All that we are really entitled to conclude is, that they circulated among the public as current oral narratives, belonging to a legendary stock created and sustained by the appetite of the people for reciting as well as for hearing. Portions of them were from time to time made the subject of ballad or epopee, and thus acquired special notoriety and celebrity: but the great mass of them maintained their place in the public memory, and their hold on the public affections, without any aid from the genius of poets. All the popular legends, as well those which have passed into ballad and epos as those which have remained in simple oral circulation, profess to be narratives of past matter of fact: but this does not authorise the conclusion that they are narratives really derived from the past: they are often the offspring of the retrospective feelings and fancy, seeking to explain or ennoble what is actually existing, by connecting it with a train of impressive, but unreal antecedents (p. 7).

The first two chapters of Nitzsch's treatise (pp. 10—32) open the question of the national estimation of these legends among the Greeks. Were they all believed, or what were the limits and gradations recognised in the national faith? Were any of them regarded as inventions purely and simply, for purposes of amusement or instruction?

Some particular personages there are, mentioned in the ancient legends, who were considered as beings of fancy, such as Oknus (Pausan. x. 29), Akko, Lamia, Empusa, &c. But by far the greater number of the legendary characters were accepted among the general public as unquestionable realities, and the adventures ascribed to them as genuine matters of fact. Miraculous interpositions, superhuman or fantastic incidents, did not inspire to an ordinary Greek any doubt as to the truth of these legendary narratives: for the scene was laid in a supposed previous time, consecrated by his religion, and believed to have exhibited the immediate and bodily agency of those gods whom he worshipped: "whoever believes in the gods can entertain no doubt of their miracles, especially when performed, as it generally happened, for the upholding of their dignity among men" (p. 15). "The same fancy which created for the Greeks their gods with human personality also spun out for them their tales of a foretime in which these gods had first established and manifested their power, had dwelt individually in the separate towns and tribes, had begotten heroic families or primitive tribe-ancestors and founders, had imparted to particular favourites by whom they had been hospitably entertained various arts and comforts of life, had rendered miraculous aid during periods of trouble and

conflict, &c. The legends thus contained the divine history and the manifestations of the living and acting gods : for a long time, there was no other teaching and no other knowledge beyond the legends. But this divine history was at the same time the history of the fathers and primitive ancestors of the people : it embraced all traditions respecting the foundation of the cities, temples, and existing institutions generally, as well as respecting the deeds and destinies of ancestors. Faith in the legends was therefore, at one and the same time, faith in ancestors and faith in the gods, and had thus the deepest roots in the national feeling." (p. 14.)

This intimate and inseparable connection in the minds of the Greeks, between their religious belief and the facts and persons of their legendary past, is largely illustrated by Nitzsch in many curious references, setting forth the relics, the tombs of heroes, and the innumerable objects of antiquarian interest and evidence, which were shewn to the visitor in every part of Greece. A Greek of perfectly orthodox disposition and uninstructed intellect accepted these stories in all their details and variety : in particular cases, inquiry or scepticism displayed itself, according to the individual turn of men's minds : but even the most inquiring and the most sceptical never severed themselves entirely from the legendary faith of their countrymen, or from the public religious rites, akin to that faith, in which they had been educated. The legendary "foretime" is their foretime, as well as that of their countrymen : the persons who occupy it, gods, heroes, and autochthonous men, as well as the string of barren intermediate names and generations which connect the extreme past with the present—all have been real entities, and form distinct objects of retrospective contemplation. Deukalion, Kekrops, Theseus, Minos, Herakles, are all real persons, and have done, if not exactly what is ascribed to them, at least something like it. The voyages of Jason, of Odysseus, and of Herakles, are treated as not less real and historical, though they are less accurately known, than those of Xerxes to Athens or Alexander to India. (p. 16.)

Such was the view taken by historians, periegetes, or logographers : they looked upon the general body of Grecian legends as history partially corrupted and exaggerated—true in the main, but with various allowances and deductions. But in estimating the amount of deduction requisite to be made, in order to bring down the exaggerations to the level of truth, there was neither rule nor available evidence to guide them : each man had to determine this point for himself, according to his own individual fancy or religious sentiment. In general, all agreed in recognising the historical reality of the legendary persons. Thucydides forms the most illustrious example of this mode of reducing the legends into conjectural history : but Nitzsch justly remarks that when

we contemplate the subject from our *objective* point of view, to find out actual and ascertained matter of fact, the judgment even of Thucydides upon such points constitutes no authority; nor ought we to admit Kekrops as a real person, or Pelops as a wealthy Lydian founder of a dynasty in Peloponnesus, because Thucydides has done so before us. (p. 17.)

But this pragmatismus (*i. e.* recognition of an historical basis) was not the only principle applied in antiquity for interpreting the legends and qualifying the literal belief in them. There arose besides a class of philosophers, men of speculation and theory, who devoted their principal attention to the legends connected with the Gods, rejecting them in the literal sense as unworthy of credence, but ascribing to them an interior meaning, pantheistic or allegorical, such as the vulgar could neither detect nor appreciate. Other philosophers, refraining from allegory altogether, left the personal Gods and the current legends generally undisturbed, but set aside those particular legends which appeared to them unworthy of divine characters, as stories which must be untrue.

When we pass therefore from the ordinary public of Greece, amongst whom all the legends were accepted with pious and literal faith, to the lettered classes, we find the divine legends distinguished from the heroic, and construed upon different principles: an allegorical basis being ascribed to the former, an historical basis to the latter. There were however some critics, such as Metrodorus, who allegorised the heroic as well as the divine legends; while Euemerus, and some distinguished men who followed him, historicised even the divine legends, representing the Gods as having been nothing more than beneficent men or distinguished kings. But the allegorical interpretation of the one class of legends, and the historical interpretation of the other were both alike *subjective*, as Nitzsch remarks, (p. 17), that is, adapted to the special tone of thought of those in whose minds they arose, and destitute of positive or generally available evidence. So thoroughly incorporated was the general body of legend with the national mind—so completely was it interwoven with the religious and patriotic education of every one—that even those who could not believe it literally were at the same time unable to reject it: each man qualified and transformed it according to his own mental tendencies, so as to render it credible and acceptable to himself.

A number of well-selected examples are cited by Nitzsch, from the different Grecian authors, to illustrate the extent and manner in which each of them qualified his belief in the ancient legends. The belief in the personal interposition of the gods and heroes, on occasions of *trouble and danger*, continues all through the historical times: only that *such interpositions* become more and more rare, and are supposed to

have been accorded frequently and liberally only during the favoured ages of legendary ancestry (p. 37). The greatest and ablest Greeks of the historical times, Themistocles, Pericles, Alexander the Great, and Parrhasius the painter, believed themselves to have seen the gods in dreams, and acted in conformity to suggestions then received (p. 39).

In the fourth chapter, Nitzsch produces many passages in proof of the literal belief current among the Grecian public, in the most fantastic and marvellous of the legends; including even the stories of wonderful transformations, such as those described in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid—a collection of anecdotes which had been circulated and believed, each in its own locality, as authentic miraculous events, though with the readers of Ovid they passed only for amusing fictions (p. 45). He remarks that the most extravagant of these romantic stories are to be found among the fables relating to the Æolic race, which he regards as the most rich in narratives of a romantic tendency (p. 54), comprising as it does the stories of Sisyphus, Bellerophon, and the Argonauts. The combinations in the Cretan and Attic legends, including Minos, Dædalus, Skylla, &c., are also in a high degree fantastic: on the other hand, in the genuine Ionic epos, such romantic incidents occur more rarely. The adventures of the heroes under special patronage or persecution of the gods, exhibit greater analogy with the lot of ordinary humanity (p. 55). The later legends present generally more of what is fanciful and monstrous than the earlier (p. 59).

Amongst all the classes of legendary narrative there were three, according to Nitzsch, in which the lettered Greeks found it especially difficult to accommodate their belief to that of the ordinary man:—

1. The descriptions of Hades with its posthumous punishments.—
2. The generation of offspring by commerce of Gods with women.—
3. The bodily apotheosis of favoured mortals (p. 58).

In the fifth chapter, entitled *Sagen-glaube der Gebildeten*, Nitzsch examines the eclectic tendencies of Hekataëus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus, and Strabo—the degree to which each of them permitted the negative influences of criticism to qualify their hereditary faith in the national legends. In the sixth and last, he illustrates with some detail the allegorising views of the philosophers, begun as early as Theagenes of Rhegium (A.C. 521), renewed by Metrodorus and Anaxagoras, and adopted by the chiefs of the stoic school—the indignant condemnation, and consequent disbelief, of portions of the legends, on the ground of immorality or indelicacy, first pronounced by Xenophanes (A.C. 540), subsequently by Pindar, Plato, Isocrates, and others—and the heresy, not less consistent than unpopular, of Euemerus, who applied to the Gods the same canons of criticism which others were content to apply to the heroes.

These transformations, so many and so various, which the ancient legends underwent, all sprung at the bottom from one and the same

principle. The legends constituted an integral portion of the national faith and sentiment—they were the common property of rich and poor, wise men and fools, priests and laity—they were linked with the public worship, the patriotic sympathies, and the social enjoyments, of every individual citizen (p. 71)². But the intellectual state of a lettered Greek of the fifth century before the Christian æra, was such as to forbid the possibility of his believing the great body of the legends literally as they stood. To escape the painful necessity of positive disbelief, there was no resource except to interpret, to remodel, and to cut down the legends, until they came into harmony with the intellectual pre-dispositions of those by whom the process was performed. The process indeed was differently performed by Thucydides, by Anaxagoras, and by Plato: but in all three it was dictated by the same mental wants; and in all three it was equally *subjective*—destitute of any support from positive or generally available evidence.

Nitzsch concludes with some brief reflections on the general state of mind of those early ages in which the legends first originated, and in which a ready and reverential faith both accompanied and stimulated fertility of invention (pp. 90—93). They had their root in a poetical fancy and mode of expression, working upon religious hopes and fears as well as upon national attachments and aversions. In this early state of the mind, the poetical dialect forms the natural and current manner of expression: fictitious persons and fictitious incidents are accepted without hesitation, and afford the only recognised method of satisfying curiosity, of appeasing fears and doubts, and of explaining and ennobling at the same time the round of present customs in which every one lives and moves. In conceiving phenomena, as well as in describing them to others, personification and personal narrative is the natural form which presents itself—the essential machinery of the poetical dialect. Of this tendency the most striking illustration is to be found in the universal imagination of Eponymous heroes for every city, village, tribe, locality, &c.

I have not been able, in this short notice, to convey any idea of the valuable and well-chosen references by which Nitzsch has sustained the most part of his general positions. They form of course the most instructive portion of the treatise, the perusal of which, as a whole, will amply repay any one who is curious in respect to what is called early history, or anxious to appreciate the habits of the ancient Grecian mind in the investigation of evidence.

G. G.

² Euripid. Iphig. Taur. 660.

Τίς ἐστὶν ἡ νεᾶνις; ὡς Ἑλληνικῶς
'Ανῆρεθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τ' ἐν Ἰλλίῳ πόνους,
Νόστον τ' Ἀχαιῶν, &c.

ORATORUM ROMANORUM FRAGMENTA AB APPIO INDE CÆCO ET M. PORCIO CATONE USQUE AD Q. AURELIUM SYMMACHUM. Collegit atque illustr. Henricus Meyerus. Turici, 1842. 8vo. Editio auctior et emendatior.

A NEW edition of this work, which first appeared in 1832, and was reprinted with a few additions by Dübner at Paris in 1837, must be hailed by all scholars as a most welcome aid in the study of Roman oratory from the beginning of the art down to the latest times of the empire. The rapid succession of three editions is a sufficient acknowledgement of the value of the work, and the author, by his continued study of his subject, has been enabled to make this last edition an almost entirely new work. No less than thirty orators who had been omitted in the former edition, are treated of in the new one; while a few others have been omitted whose claims to a place among the orators were not founded on satisfactory authority. To give our readers a notion of the great improvements and additions in this new edition, it will be sufficient to mention that the article M. Porcius Cato, which in the first edition occupied 84 pages, fills 140 pages of the new edition. M. Meyer's object has been to give his work the highest possible degree of completeness in regard to the persons who distinguished themselves as orators, as well as to the fragments of their orations; and this object is attained in the most satisfactory manner. The way in which the subjects are treated is briefly this. The author first gives a chronological outline of the most important events in the life of the orator, with the references necessary to establish the chronology, which is greatly improved in this edition; and he then proceeds to give the fragments of the orations. They are always accompanied by an account of the occasion on which the speeches to which they belonged, were delivered, mostly in the words of the ancient authorities themselves, and by brief notes to illustrate difficult or remarkable passages. The whole work is one of sound scholarship and free from the airy speculations and conjectures, in consequence of which German works are frequently specimens of their author's ingenuity rather than sound and faithful representations of the subjects they treat of. To place a subject in a new light, which the Germans call *advancing the science of it*, is of no value whatever, if this new light be not the true one, or at least, has not a high degree of probability derived from a careful and conscientious examination of the sources extant, or drawn from analogy, and without any preconceived theory which the ancient testimonies are made to fit by force and distortion.

DEMOCRITI ABDEBITÆ OPERUM FRAGMENTA. Collegit, recensuit, vertit, explicuit, ac de Philosophi vita, scriptis et placitis commentatus est, F. G. A. Mullachius. Berolini, 1843. 8vo. (London, Williams and Norgate.)

THIS is the first collection of all the fragments of Democritus that has ever been made, and Dr. Mullach deserves great credit for the number of years he has devoted to his task as well as for the manner in which he has accomplished it. He classifies the numerous works of Democritus in the following manner:—1. *Scripta Moralia*.—2. *Scripta Physica*.—3. *Scripta ἀσινρακτα*.—4. *Scripta Mathematica*.—5. *Scripta Musica*, and 6. *Scripta Technica*, each of which classes comprises a number of separate works. He has added a new Latin translation, as those which had appeared before were partly incorrect and partly based upon a corrupt text of the original. Dr. Mullach's object, therefore, has been first of all to constitute a correct text of the fragments. Democritus wrote in the Ionic dialect, but the writers who have preserved fragments of his works, have sometimes changed his words altogether into the forms of the Attic or common Greek dialect; while, in other cases they have left the Ionic forms untouched, or at least, have retained sufficient traces of the dialect in which Democritus wrote, to enable a careful critic to restore the genuine form of the fragments. Wherever this has been possible, Dr. Mullach has endeavoured to give us the fragments in their genuine Ionic forms; but in cases where the philosopher's fragments are preserved in the Attic or common dialect, he has wisely left them as they are, since the attempt at restoration would in many cases involve extensive and arbitrary alterations. An account of his proceedings in this respect is given by Dr. Mullach in his notes upon the fragments, from p. 255 to p. 373. The Latin version is written with great ease, fluency and elegance. The whole work is divided into four books: the first contains a critical account of the life of Democritus, and a list of other personages who bore the same name; the second consists of a general dissertation on the works of Democritus; the third contains the fragments, which are followed by the commentary; and the fourth gives a delineation of the philosophy of Democritus, which we have found more complete and accurate than any that is to be found even in the best histories of ancient philosophy.

ANECDOTA DELPHICA. Edidit Ernestus Curtius. Accedunt tabulæ duæ Delphicæ. Berolini, 1843. 4to. (London, Williams and Norgate.)

AMONG the memorable places of ancient Greece, there is scarcely one that was so long neglected as Delphi, the religious centre of the

ancient world, and none again that has been so thoroughly searched in modern times. After the labours of our own numerous travellers, who furnished the world with more or less accurate and interesting particulars, but none of whom had made Delphi and its vicinity the special object of his researches, it was reserved for a few illustrious German scholars to lift the veil which hung over that sanctuary of Hellas. The first who produced a topography of Delphi worthy of the name, was Professor Ulrichs of Athens, in his well-known work, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*. Bremen, 1840. Vol. I. About the same time the Greek government formed the plan of removing, if possible, the village of Castritæ, and of thus laying open the remains of the temple of Apollo, which is buried under it. This plan was indeed given up, but the architect, M. Laurent, who had been commissioned to take an accurate measurement of the district, produced a very excellent topographical map of Delphi, which is added to Professor Ulrichs' work. And thus it has happened, that within the last few years we have obtained a more perfect knowledge of Delphi than of any other town of ancient Greece, with the exception, perhaps, of Athens. The present work of Dr. Curtius, who accompanied the lamented K. O. Müller in his researches at Delphi, contains the results of his own and Müller's labours, as far as the inscriptions are concerned: the portion relating more particularly to ancient art has just been published by Adolf Schöll in his *Archaeologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland, nach C. O. Müller's hinterlassenen Papieren*. Erstes Heft. Next to Athens there is no place in Greece where so many inscriptions, partly of a religious and partly of a profane nature, have been discovered as at Delphi. A great many are contained in Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and their number has been increased by Ross, Colonel Leake, Thiersch, and Ulrichs. The *Anecdota Delphica* of Dr. Curtius contain sixty-eight new and hitherto unpublished inscriptions of great importance. In the prolegomena to his work, he gives a brief outline of the topography of Delphi, and an account of the spot where the new inscriptions were found and of their condition. They are all written upon a wall which forms a substruction of the temple of Apollo, and was laid open by Müller and Curtius. It is said to have subsequently disappeared, but it is most probable that it was covered over again by the people of Castritæ. The age of the majority of the inscriptions is fixed by Curtius as being the third century B. C. The subjects which they commemorate are manumissions of slaves, and decrees of the Delphic Amphictyons and of the city of Delphi; and Dr. Curtius is thus led to give an elaborate account of these subjects, his information being chiefly derived from the inscriptions themselves. The most interesting part is the dissertation upon the various modes of manumission among the Greeks, and the forms in which they were effected.

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pp. 10—47. After these dissertations the author gives the inscriptions themselves in the ordinary Greek characters, with short critical notes. Then follow several appendixes: 1. On an Egyptian Papyrus containing an act of manumission in Greek. 2. On the Delphic dialect. 3. A list of proper names occurring in the inscriptions, and, 4. Explanation of the plates, and a catalogue of the inscriptions in capital letters. Dr. Curtius has made the best use of the materials furnished him by his inscriptions, and his disquisitions have brought to light many things which give us a clearer insight into the life of the ancient Greeks (and more especially the Delphians) than it was possible to obtain previous to the discovery of these inscriptions.

DELECTUS POETARUM ANTHOLOGIÆ GRÆCÆ; cum adnotatione critica Augusti Meinekii, accedunt conjectanea critica de Anthologiæ Græcæ locis controversis. Berolini, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo.

ANALECTA ALEXANDRINA, sive Commentationes de Euphorione Chalcidensi, Rhiano Cretensi, Alexandro Ætolo, Parthenio Nicæno, scripsit Augustus Meineke. Berolini, 1843. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE first of these two volumes contains an amended edition of the epigrams of the best poets of the Greek Anthology who lived about the Alexandrine period: their number is twenty-four. They are arranged in the order of Brunck's *Analecta*, with references at the bottom of the pages to the edition of the *Palatine Anthology* by Jacobs. A critical annotation is subjoined. After these notes, Dr. Meineke has appended some emendations of other epigrams, selected indiscriminately from the Anthology. The comprehensive knowledge of Greek literature, the accurate perception of the language, and the ingenuity in conjectural emendation, combined with the rarer quality of sobriety in using it, for which Dr. Meineke is distinguished, are apparent in this little volume. He publishes it as a specimen of an edition of the entire Anthology, which he meditates, and which we sincerely hope that he may execute. To say nothing of the philological value which it would possess, there is now no complete edition of the Anthology, except the very expensive work of Jacobs, and the very inaccurate reprint in the Tauchnitz Collection.

The second volume contains a reprint of the substance of his former edition of Euphorion, with improvements, together with the remains of Rhianus, Alexander Ætolus, and Parthenius. Amongst the latter are included the extant stories *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*; which are likewise contained in the recent edition of the Greek mythographers by Westermann.

LA MONETA e i MONUMENTI PRIMITIVI dell' ITALIA ANTICA, messi in rapporto cronologico con quelli delle altre Nazioni civili dell' Antichità. **DISSERTAZIONE** del Dr. **ACHILLE GENNARELLI** Coronata dalla Ponteficia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, 21 Aprile, 1842. Roma, 1843.

THE volume here published by Dr. Gennarelli contains three Dissertations on three separate subjects, publicly announced for discussion by the Archæological Academy at Rome; the prize was adjudged to them by that learned body.

The work published in 1839 by fathers Marchi and Tessieri, on the primitive bronze money of ancient Italy, excited a strong interest among Archæological inquirers: many of the specimens of *æs* grave produced and illustrated by them from the Kircherian Museum, had been either unknown or unnoticed before, and it was found that we still possessed so many series, either complete or nearly complete, of the *As* with its fractions and multiples, as to throw an unexpected light both upon the original starting-point and the gradual debasement of antient Italian money.

It was chiefly from the various points left untouched or doubtful in this work, that the Archæological Academy at Rome was induced in 1841 to propose the three following questions for examination:

1. Was the heavy money, not Roman and not bearing any inscription, issued exclusively by Italian cities? and by which Italian cities?
2. Was it issued prior to the fourth century of Rome?
3. What inferences may be drawn from the comparison of that money with the monuments of art among the other cities both in and out of Italy, as to the quarters from whence the arts themselves derived their origin and their improvement?

Upon these three questions Dr. Gennarelli has brought to bear considerable learning, much ingenious inference, and above all, a complete and critical acquaintance with the remnants of Italian art treasured up in the various Museums, multiplied as they have been to so prodigious an extent by the discoveries of the last twenty years. Of these discoveries a large portion has gone to enrich the Gregorian Museum in the Vatican: in the great work now in course of publication representing the contents of that Museum, Dr. Gennarelli is the author of the expository portion. Italian dissertations upon subjects of this kind form as it were the complement of German: inferior to the Germans in erudition, Italian authors usually manifest a more extensive personal knowledge of works of art and greater power of comparing and criticising them. It is rarely given to one man to unite the two in his own person, like K. O. Müller.

The first of Dr. Gennarelli's three essays embodies the chief results presented in the previous work of Marchi and Tessieri, together with

several additions and corrections of his own. The assertion of Timæus (*ap. Plin. H. N.* xxxiii. 13), that bronze without any special form or mark (*æs rude*) was employed as money in Italy earlier than bronze cast in a determinate mould, appears to be borne out by recent discoveries at Vulci and Falterona (pp. 12—93): plain pieces of bronze, differing both in shape and weight, having been found in coffers along with determinate specimens of cast money. From these rude pieces of metal, of various weights, the next step was to cast pieces of bronze of a full pound weight, together with smaller pieces corresponding to the semis and other smaller uncial fractions. According to the specimens now existing, and capable of being identified, though there are many more which as yet cannot be referred to any known city, the heavy bronze money extended from Luna to Antium, in Italy, South of the Apennines—and from Ariminum to Venusia, in Italy, North of the Apennines: in Sicily also pieces of it have been found, and it seems to have been current—but at present there is no evidence to connect it with the more southern portions of Italy. In Greece and other non-Italic regions it is quite unknown, (pp. 56, 57). The pound weight in different parts of Italy was different, and each city in casting its money assumed its own pound weight as unity: all the changes which subsequently took place were in the way of degradation: but the position laid down by Marchi and Tessieri, that the heaviest pieces are always to be regarded as the oldest, is only true with regard to money of the same city. Dr. Gennarelli enumerates the different cities, within the limits above mentioned, in which the *æs grave* can be shewn to have been cast: and he annexes to his essay a voluminous but useful table, containing the weights of all the numerous specimens possessed by the Kircherian Museum.

In the second essay, the comparative ages of the bronze money in different parts of Italy is discussed. The author considers that it was first cast by the Tuscan cities, from whom it passed into Umbria and Latium at a period contemporaneous with the foundation of Rome, and was introduced into Rome itself by the Tuscan kings. All this chronological arrangement rests upon very slender evidence: though the extraordinary superiority, in the execution of the bronze money of Latium, may be reasonably taken as proof of a later date for those particular specimens.

In the third essay Dr. Gennarelli enters into a general survey of the various branches of Etrurian art, in all its known manifestations, architectural, plastic, and pictorial, as well as monetary. He maintains, with great earnestness of conviction, as well as by very powerful arguments, the nationality of Etruscan art, and controverts the opinion of those who refer the best specimens now existing to Grecian artists. The number of objects of art which have been extracted from various parts of Etruria, by the excavations of the last fifteen years, is pro-

digious: not less than 30,000 painted vases have been found, and an aggregate of other objects hardly less considerable. With respect to many of the vases, there is full proof that they were fabricated on the spot where they were dug up: in the neighbourhood of Vulci a species of earth is found which precisely corresponds with the material used in the numerous terra-cotta vases excavated in the necropolis of that city: and near the site of the ancient Tarquinii, a deposit of black earth has recently been detected, analagous to the material of the archaic black vases discovered thereabouts (p. 136). A great variety of marks or cyphers, in Etruscan characters, are inscribed upon these vases: Dr. Gennarelli has collected and printed nearly a hundred of these Etruscan marks, which must in most cases have been affixed before the vase was submitted to the fire. From the paintings on the walls of Chiusi and Tarquinii we see that these vases were in ordinary use in all the details of Tuscan life: nor is there any reason to dispute the testimony of Pliny, that they were extensively exported to foreign countries. The *specchi graffiti*, or bronze mirrors with engraved designs, are altogether peculiar to Etruria: nothing of the kind has yet been found in Greece: among these are to be seen some highly finished specimens of art, one of which is annexed to the dissertation of Dr. Gennarelli. Grecian inscriptions are sometimes found upon articles dug up in the Etrurian cities—but often upon articles of bad workmanship as well as good—and what is still more curious, they are often so unintelligible and mis-written, as to have the appearance of proceeding from authors imperfectly acquainted with the language. Not a single Grecian tomb has yet been discovered amongst the excavations in Etruria. All the assemblage of accompanying circumstances seems to countenance the belief, that the numerous relics of ancient art found in the country are the productions of indigenous skill and talent: and Dr. Gennarelli may fairly claim to have made out this part of his case.

Dr. Gennarelli believes too implicitly the statement of Pliny (H. N. xxxv. 3.) that the pictures which he had seen and admired in the temples of Ardea, Lanuvium, and Cære, were of a date more ancient than the foundation of Rome. But the great and rich sepulchre, which was opened in 1829 on the site of the ancient Cære, exhibits remarkable evidences as to the antiquity of Etruscan art. From the structure of the arch, which resembles in its superposed horizontal layers that of the treasury of Atreus at Mykenæ, we may infer that it was anterior to the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, or to the sixth century before the Christian era. In this tomb were found a profusion of ornaments and divers utensils, in gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta; these articles are now in the Gregorian Museum, and many of them are executed with a degree of skill and delicacy truly remarkable. We find thus an interesting proof of the art as well as

of the wealth in the ancient Cære or Agylla, at a period certainly not later than 600 B.C. when Greece had but little to boast of in any department of artistic execution. The dissertation of Dr. Genarelli gives much curious detail about this tomb, as well as respecting recent excavations at Chiusi, which have tended greatly to illustrate the account delivered by Varro of the colossal tomb of Porsena near that spot.

TRANSLATION OF SELECT SPEECHES OF DEMOSTHENES, with Notes,
by CHARLES RANN KENNEDY, Esq. London. 1841.

A COMPLETE translation of Demosthenes is a *desideratum* in English literature. Mr. Kennedy has here in part supplied the want by a version of the five orations against Aphobus and Onetor. Belonging to that class of the λόγοι δίκαιοι which affords least scope for the display of eloquence, these speeches have in the original fewer attractions for the reader than many others of Demosthenes, although they contain much information respecting the early life of the great orator, as well as regarding Athenian laws and customs. Hence a translation of them is the more welcome. Mr. Kennedy has availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to illustrate by notes many peculiarities of Attic jurisprudence. These are written in an easy, unpretending style, and convey much information without the parade of learning. A principal feature of the work is the occasional illustration of Athenian laws, by a comparison of them with those of England, which circumstance cannot but give the book an additional interest for such readers as belong to the profession of the law.

Mr. Kennedy's version of the text, though not literal, seems, so far as we have compared it with the original, to give the meaning with fidelity. We must, however, protest against the way in which he has rendered some of the technical terms. Thus we find the ἄνδρες δικασταί converted into "Gentlemen of the Jury;" and λειτουργίαι is rendered by "burdensome offices:" which, doubtless, they frequently were, but which conveys a meaning at variance with the etymology of the word. What makes this practice still more objectionable is, that Mr. Kennedy has not even been consistent in it; for we see no just cause why the archon should not be converted into my "Lord Mayor," just as well as the dicast into a jury-man. These, however, are but trifles; and to the student who is preparing to enter upon Demosthenes we can safely recommend Mr. Kennedy's book as a useful introduction.

XXXIII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Αἰσχύλου Εὐμενίδες. Æschyli Eumenides. Recensuit et Illustravit Jacobus Scholefield. Cantabrigiæ, 1843. 8vo.
- Dr. Arnold, History of Rome, Vol. III. London, 1843. 8vo.
- Ἡφαιστίωνος Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Ποιημάτων. The Enkheiridion of Hefæistiown concerning Metres and Poems. Translated into English, and illustrated by notes and a rythmical notation; with Prolegomena on rythm and accent. By Th. Foster Barham, M.B. Cambridge, 1843. 8vo.
- T. Livii Patavini Historiarum ab urbe condita libri quinque priores. Ad fidem optimorum exemplarium recensuit Giul. M. Gun, et notulis Anglicis indiceque instruxit. Editio auctior et emendatior. Edinburgi, 1843.
- L. P. Mercier, A Manual of Greek Prosody. Glasgow, 1843.
- Selecta e Poetis Latinis ordine temporum disposita. In usum Academiæ Edinensis. Edinburgi, 1843.
- Dr. W. Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Part IV, from ASELLUS to BRUTUS. London, 1843. 8vo.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

- Aristophanes, Lustspiele, Uebersetzt und erläutert von H. Müller. Vol. I. 8vo. Leipz. 1843.
- Becker, W. A. Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer, nach den Quellen bearbeitet. Vol. I. 8vo. Leipz. 1843.
- Bojesen, E. F., Handbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten aus d. Dän. übers. 8vo. Giessen. 1843.
- Burger, D. prolegomena ad annotationem in Theætetum, Platonis dial. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1843.
- Burchardt, G. E. Handbuch der klassischen Mythologie nach genetischen Grundsätzen. Vol. I. Hesiod u. Homer, zugleich Homerische Einleitung. 8vo. Dresd. 1843.
- Droysen, J. G., Geschichte des Hellenismus. Vol. II. Die Bildung des hellenischen Staatensystems. 8vo. Hamburg. 1843.
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